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AUTHOR OF "THE LAST AGE OF ROMAN BRITAIN,"
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EDITOR'S PREFACE

THIS little work on Exeter and Truro cathedrals and some of the more important churches of the West Country is, as the title-page indicates, one of a series of volumes devoted to cathedrals, abbeys and famous churches. They are made small enough for the pocket, and yet sufficiently large to give adequate scope for illustration and a readable size of type. Except in a few instances the illustrations are my own work. The photographs were obtained by special visits which I made in the autumn of 1924.

My object throughout was to avoid the stereotyped view-points, which have been published so often that those who have not visited the cathedrals for many years have forgotten how full of wonderful perspectives and mysterious glimpses they are, while others who have yet to enter the great structures only know them from photographs taken under conditions which, as a rule, miss all the beauty of half-lights and the feeling of vastness and solemnity given by soaring column and pilaster. Owing to very bad conditions of light when I was at Exeter I was obliged to turn elsewhere for some of the photographs, and Mr. C. H. Stokes kindly came to the rescue, securing for me, among others, the very remarkable picture of the south aisle of the choir.

Being convinced that the average visitor to cathedrals and abbeys is soon wearied by over-elaborate architectural detail, I have set a very definite aim before the authors who have contributed to this series. They have been urged *to emphasise the personal side of the buildings* they are describing; that is to say, they have

written with the object of recounting how the great edifices came to be, who were the men chiefly instrumental in their genesis and development, what great events are associated with the structures, and who lies buried within their walls.

It has always appeared to me that as soon as a personality is associated with a church or one of its features, that building or object will be looked at with sufficient attention to make its form of interest. Then comes the opportunity to tell of the style and details and of the architectural influences which preceded and surrounded them. For those who love architecture as an art the personal equation merely adds an element of special interest, but for the great public I believe that something must be known of the throbbing human lives responsible for the splendour of the great churches before the details of the vast fabrics can be understood or appreciated.

Mr. Foord has had this aim before him, and after telling the story of the bishopric and of the builders brings his readers to the cathedral, which fills the greatest part of the book. The close study he has given to the details of the structure and the history of each portion has enabled him to throw new light on certain features, attributing to the right quarter all those modifications and additions which have left to us in Exeter Cathedral the greatest masterpiece of Gothic architecture in the British Isles.

I have, in conjunction with the author, to express our obligations to the guardians of Exeter Cathedral, and especially to the Head Verger, Mr. A. R. Palmer, whose intimate knowledge of architectural and constructural details was of the utmost value to the author.

GORDON HOME.

April, 1925.

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EXETER, TRURO AND THE WEST

CHAPTER I

CHRISTIANITY IN THE WEST AND THE GENESIS OF THE BISHOPRIC OF EXETER

The Cathedral Church of Exeter, though not especially remarkable as regards imposing dimensions nor, despite its unique features of construction, especially noteworthy by reason of external stateliness, nevertheless holds an unchallenged position in the foremost rank of the churches not merely of England but of the world. Externally it may be criticised, but when the observer has passed into the shade of the interior, criticism becomes lost in admiration. Look where you will, there appears to be hardly anything upon which the carping spirit can lay hold. Beauty here is not overborne by strength; and the massive grandeur of the interior is as rarely beautiful as it is restful and strong. Intellect, beauty, and vigour have here achieved a unity which is as perfect as it is unusual. And in no part of the great building does there seem to be any appreciable decline from the lofty standard which impresses the spectator at the first entry. It is as though builder after builder had taken up his task with a high resolve never to fall below the ideal of his predecessor, or to do anything, however

admirable in itself, which might be incongruous with the achievements of those who had laboured before him. The result has been an unique and absolutely satisfying harmony.

Exeter Cathedral is fortunate in its situation—and yet not so fortunate. It stands high on the hillside occupied by the ancient city, but not quite upon its crown, so that its commanding position is not always realised. The grandeur of the site of Durham is something self-evident, and, though there is nothing in itself imposing in a low bluff rising from a dead fenny flat, the commanding nature of the position of Ely must be admitted by anyone who has seen its gigantic tower against the sky-line from a standpoint many miles distant. But at Exeter the visitor, coming from the east, is hardly aware of the proximity of the stately fane until he passes the narrow street which affords entry to the Close. The real dignity of its position is not fully apparent until the spectator has gone some distance along the Topsham road and descended to the bank of the Exe near the weirs. From any one of several points along this part of the river the entire roof-line of the Cathedral appears, rising above the crowded buildings and narrow streets of the ancient capital of Devon, broken in the centre by the massive twin towers reared by Bishop William de Warelwast in the days when Henry I.'s strong hand kept peace for man and beast throughout England. The aspect of the great church as a whole is eminently stately and dignified, if somewhat bizarre to an onlooker accustomed to a triple group of belfries or spires. The long line of the roof is not unsatisfactory; the

massive bulk of the twin towers redeems their apparent lack of height, and the original character of the whole design is an obvious and paramount feature. On a closer survey the building, viewed from the west, still satisfies and pleases. The lavish decoration of the west front contrasts effectively with the comparative simplicity of the sides, and the real height of the towers, with their curiously effective combination of grace and massive solidity, becomes most apparent and impresses the beholder.

Exeter, as a city, is very ancient—that is, ancient from the standpoint of the Northern European. Europe, beyond the limits of the Mediterranean basin, cannot boast of places of an antiquity comparable with that of Athens and Rome, much less the hoary eld which broods over Damascus and Jerusalem and Konia. But Exeter, as a settlement, can in all probability count centuries fairly with British London and Gallic Paris and may, in the days when Caesar was conquering Gaul, have been a more important place than either. As a Roman town, Exeter—Isca Damnoniorum—is a little younger than Paris and about as ancient as London. Its recorded history during Roman times is a blank, but it does not at all follow that it had none. It is likely enough to have been one of the twenty towns captured by Vespasian when, acting under the Governor-General Aulus Plautius, he conquered South-Western Britain for Rome. If so, the troops who added Exeter to the Roman Empire were certainly men of one of the most ancient and famous of the Legions—Secunda Augusta, whose general in this war was presently to be one of

the best and greatest of Roman emperors. It had existed for some eighty years when it came to Britain under the command of Titus Flavius Vespasianus, with whom served as aide-de-camp his son of the same name, who afterwards took Jerusalem. There is little doubt that it was the first of the Legions to bathe its eagle in the waters of the Exe, which its soldiers called Isca, and for three centuries and more it continued to be the force of occupation in the west. Very many Damnonians—men of Devon—must have served in its ranks. Towards the end of the Roman period it was moved eastward, and the defence of the west was taken up by what later ages would have called the train-bands; but nearly four centuries after its arrival, Legio II. Augusta was still in Britain, and in Britain, so far as is known, it ended its long and honourable career, defending the country which it had helped to conquer for Rome.

It is probable that Isca Damnoniorum—City-of-the-River-of-Devon—very early became a fortified Roman outpost; but there is nothing to show that it was ever a legionary station except perhaps for a few months, while Vespasian was subduing the west. If there were a fort on the Exe in the early days of Roman rule it must have been a small affair intended to house a single cohort or battalion. But the outline of the walls and the lay-out of the principal streets are suggestive; and it seems probable that Isca Damnoniorum was one of those places which, lying near the coast on navigable rivers, were walled at an early period. Probably, too, it was a rule that all cantonal capitals were fortified: certainly every place in England

which can be identified as one was surrounded by walls. At Colchester, Chichester and Winchester the fortifications enclosed a regular rectangular area, and this seems to have been the case also at Exeter. The Guildhall claims to occupy the site of the "Prætorium": it is not by any means improbable that it stands on the site of the administrative offices of the Romano-British town. Very little scientific archæological work has been done at Exeter; but in this respect the city is no more blameworthy than her more important sister, York; and the sin of omission in this case has had consequences less disastrous to history, because at Exeter there is no doubt regarding continuity of occupation from the earliest times. When the smoke and dust of the wars of the English Conquest have begun to clear away, there is obtainable a glimpse of Exeter as a town in which English and Britons live side by side—a condition of affairs which may well have prevailed at many other places.

It is more difficult to determine the period at which Exeter fell under the rule of the advancing English. This event is commonly supposed to have occurred somewhere about 710, but the true date was very much earlier. St. Boniface (Winfrith), the English Apostle of Germany, was born at Crediton soon after 680, so that there must already have been many firmly-seated English colonies in South Devon. Moreover, in his *Life*, it is stated that he was educated at Exeter by an abbot named Wulfheard. Consequently, long before 700, there must have been a monastery in that city, presided over by an English abbot; and the only possible inference is that during the seventh

century the Romano-British town on the Exe was absorbed within the widening dominion of Wessex. Very probably the process was a peaceful one, the English immigrants spreading round the city with their agricultural settlements until, almost imperceptibly, it became a semi-English town. However this may be, it must be accepted as established history that Exeter and its district were politically part of England by about 680.

Christianity had reached the city centuries before. Modern criticism is disposed to reject altogether the legend of St. Joseph of Arimathea's mission to Britain after the death of Christ—but it is as well to face the fact that there is nothing inherently impossible in the story. Thanks to the *Pax Romana*—and the *Viae Romanae*—a journey from Jerusalem to Northern Gaul was much more practicable and safe in the first century of our era than in the eighteenth—in fact it was a journey which could be made without difficulty or danger by all who could afford the expense. Transit into Britain was also a simple matter, for there was a regular and considerable maritime commercial intercourse. After about 50 A.D. the entire South was settled under the control of Rome, and there was nothing to prevent any number of missionaries from entering the island. What progress they might be able to make among a people who always seem to have been distinguished for stubborn conservatism is another matter.

There is abundant evidence that Christianity made little headway in Britain until a very late period. The dedications of some of the most ancient churches in

Exeter, as elsewhere in the West, are to West-British saints of the sixth–seventh centuries, supporting the modern view that it was not until about 500 that the Christian faith gained a really strong hold upon the country. That, even so, it was often of a superficial character, is well known from the diatribes of Gildas.

Constantine II., the King of Damnonia, said to have been a cousin of King Arthur, who about 645 granted lands at Bodmin to St. Petroc, was a conscienceless ruffian who murdered two young relatives at the very altar of a Christian church, after having taken a solemn oath to spare them. After this, Constantine's divorce of his wife and second marriage to a woman who seems to have been a pagan may count as a venial sin; but it is evident enough that his Christianity was a mockery and a sham, and the laxity even of the clergy excited the fierce and somewhat hysterical indignation of Gildas. It must be admitted that the strong and simple faith of the incoming English, at any rate for the two centuries after the mission of St. Augustine, was something better than this.

But though it may be admitted that when the English invaders began to "fasten their talons" into the shores of Roman Britain the land was still largely pagan, there is no doubt that there existed a Christian community in most towns, and Isca Damnoniorum is unlikely to have been an exception to the rule. The little church of St. Pancras claims to date from Roman days: certainly if, as I think probable, the forum of Isca Damnoniorum lay at the Carfax, the position of St. Pancras resembles that of the church at Calleva (Silchester).

It is tempting to believe that both these little places of Christian worship were built in the Constantinian age as symbols that, though the bulk of the population might still be pagan, the faith of the Cross was triumphant. But such speculations are not history, though the dedication is one which might well have been made in the fourth century. None of the churches of Exeter seems to ante-date the Norman Conquest, and it is probable that their predecessors were either of timber, or rude stone chapels of the type so common in Western Britain and Ireland. Still it is unsafe to dogmatise, and excavation may yet prove the existence of a Romano-British church in Exeter. St. Pancras, by virtue of its unusual dedication, is the most promising candidate for the position of successor to the Roman basilica in which some obscure bishop presided over a tiny Christian community in this remote outpost of Roman civilisation.

The monastery in which St. Boniface was educated must have been either a very early English foundation or a British establishment taken over by the English. The latter theory is perhaps the more probable, though there is a possibility that the West Saxon king, Centwine, who is recorded as having inflicted many defeats upon the Britons, may have been the conqueror of Exeter and the actual founder of the Monastery of the Virgin and St. Peter. But, except the bare mention of the existence of a monastery about 690, nothing is known of Exeter for nearly two centuries after the boy Winfrith studied there. In 876–877 the city found itself swept into the devastating turmoil of the Danish invasions. It was

seized by a horde of Vikings who had made peace with Alfred but, in their usual treacherous fashion, had broken the pact. The great king was quickly on their track but, being too weak to storm the walls, was forced to convert the siege into a blockade. The Danes were starved into surrender in the spring of 877, but Exeter must have been a half-deserted ruin when they at last left it, to break their oaths once more and, in requital, to be for the time most heavily and decisively defeated.

Alfred, no doubt, gave his attention to the stricken city as to other places. He is said, probably with truth, to have repaired the fortifications, but the monastery must have been ruined and deserted, for, according to William of Malmesbury, it was left to Alfred's grandson Æthelstan to re-found it, and enrich it with the relics of the Damnonian St. Sidwell (Sativola) who, up to this time, had been the patron saint of Exeter. Unfortunately William's entries regarding Æthelstan's doings in this quarter are quite untrustworthy; he has picked up somewhere a ridiculous story that the famous "Basileus of all Britannia" expelled the Britons, who had hitherto shared possession of Exeter with the English, from the city and transported them beyond the Tamar into Cornwall! Possibly William was misinterpreting a record of some purely minor police operation — certain disaffected inhabitants having been deported. Sir Charles Oman will not believe the story, neither can I.

Cornwall had been an integral portion of the English kingdom ever since the days of Ecgberht: Alfred, as is known, possessed private estates there. There is

no reason to doubt the record of Æthelstan's benefactions to the monastery, and the importance of Exeter is witnessed by the establishment of a mint in the city.

The church of the monastery was probably the building which, doubtless enlarged and restored, served as the cathedral from 1050 to 1112. Of its dimensions and character nothing is known; but beyond question it was a very humble edifice as compared with the beautiful pile which superseded it. It does not seem to have been oriented in customary Christian fashion, but to have extended north-east and south-west. What is believed to be a single fragment survives in the form of a buttress which impinges at an angle upon one of the Decorated buttresses on the south-east side of the cathedral, close to the junction of the chancel with the Lady Chapel.

For the present, however, this edifice was the church of the monastery of St. Mary and St. Peter. The seat of the Devonian bishopric was at Crediton, where it had been placed by King Edward the Elder and Archbishop Plegmund in 910. Apparently Exeter was regarded as too much of a frontier fortress to be a fit abode for a peaceful bishop. But Crediton suffered much during the terrible times of Æthelred the Ill-Counselled, and it must have been evident to thinking men that open country towns were not in those troubled days the best seats for bishoprics, with their necessary accumulations of valuable documents, rich church furniture and money offerings. In 1049–50 Lyfing, the seventh Bishop of Crediton, died, and

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EXETER FROM EXWICK HILL

Showing the silhouette of the Norman towers of the Cathedral as they appear from the

Leofric, a royal chaplain, was preferred to the see by Edward "the Confessor."

The new bishop was a man of worldly wisdom, and despatched an envoy to Pope Leo IX., begging him to represent to the king the desirability of transferring the seat of the see to the fortified city of Exeter. The Pontiff assented without demur to an obviously reasonable request. King Edward endorsed it readily, as was to be expected. He was unlikely to dissent from any Papal decision, whether reasonable or unreasonable, and Leofric was his personal friend. It is probable, too, that Bishop Lyfing had already advanced the suggestion now pressed by Leofric; and Edward owed much to Lyfing who, with Earl Godwin of Wessex, had been one of the principal instruments in procuring the unopposed succession of the saintly son of the "redeless" Æthelred II. Truth to tell, he had been a somewhat unscrupulous agent, for Florence of Worcester says that bribes were a principal means of conviction.

Evidently the Western bishopric was a wealthy one, and the anxiety of its head to secure his treasures within the walls of Exeter is comprehensible enough. Godwin may have had something to say upon the subject; and it may be suspected that pressure had been put upon the bishops by the Exonians: provincial pride is a factor whose importance must not be left out of calculation.

The episode is otherwise of interest as showing that the policy of transferring the seats of bishoprics to fortified cities, adopted by William the Conqueror, was not an original one; in this, as in many other

respects, he and his counsellors were simply carrying out ideas which had long since been formulated.

Be all this as it may, Edward not only assented to the translation from Crediton to Exeter but, in order to set the seal upon the exaltation of the city to the ecclesiastical no less than political pre-eminence in the West, announced his intention of himself assisting at the installation of Leofric. Since the transference of the episcopal establishment to the monastery of St. Mary and St. Peter would necessarily bring about the removal of its monks, Edward assigned them to the great abbey which he was founding at Westminster. They were, apparently, only eight in number. For the service of the newly-exalted cathedral, a chapter was appointed of twenty-four canons and twenty-four vicars. When all the preliminary arrangements had been made, the king came to Exeter with his beautiful and pious wife Eadgyth, and the first Bishop of Exeter was installed with all possible pomp and ceremony. The decree of endowment of the new bishopric, signed by Edward and Eadgyth, was solemnly laid upon the High Altar of the church, henceforth to be the cathedral, and then, the king conducting him by the right hand, the queen by the left, Bishop Leofric was led to his episcopal seat and enthroned. The ceremony was of real political importance as well as intrinsic interest: it implied the elevation of Exeter to a position in the West which it has never really lost.

MISERERE, EXETER CATHEDRAL

CHAPTER II

THE BUILDING OF EXETER CATHEDRAL—THE GREAT BUILDING BISHOPS

The ambition of Bishop Leofric did not incite him to emulate his royal master, who signalised his reign by the building at Westminster of one of the most magnificent churches in Europe. He was content to use as his cathedral the abbey-church of St. Mary and St. Peter in which he had been installed: though in other respects he was an active worker for the benefit of his see. His episcopate was long, and extended well into the Norman period. Its salient episode was the siege and capture of Exeter by William I. in 1068; but Leofric was not deposed, and died peaceably in possession of his see five years later, though his successor, Osbern Fitz-Osbern, brother of the famous baron whom the Conqueror created Earl of Hereford, was naturally a Norman.

This first Norman bishop also enjoyed a very long tenure of the episcopate—over thirty years. During the latter part of his life he was both infirm and blind, so that William de Warelwast, who had apparently been promised the reversion of the see by King Henry I., became impatient and remarked, with more

bluntness than was consonant with good manners that it was high time for him to resign and make way for a more active man. Osbern seems to have been a peaceful and somewhat unenergetic personage, though doubtless not unfit for his high office, for the Conqueror and his great adviser, Archbishop Lanfranc, were little given to making unworthy ecclesiastical appointments. William of Malmesbury says that he was a good pastor, with a strong preference for English manners and customs, of blameless life, simple in his habits and extremely charitable. Certainly he had no ambition for building, but to the end of his long life continued contentedly to use the comparatively humble church which he had found on his arrival in Exeter. His successor was of a different temper, and was determined that his city should possess a cathedral worthy of its fame.

Saxon Buttress on the South Side of the Choir of Exeter Cathedral

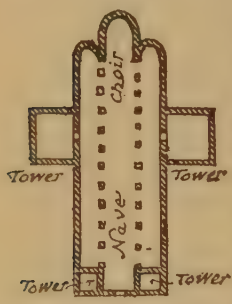
William de Warelwast was himself a man of considerable mark in the history of the period. According

to William of Worcester he was nephew of King William I., but there seems no proof of this, though it is quite possible that he was in some way connected with the Conqueror's family. Warelwast, his birthplace, is considered to be the same as the modern village of Véraval near Yvetot, north-west of Rouen. He was probably born about 1060, and early in the reign of William Rufus is found as (apparently) a royal chaplain—his actual position is not very clear. This association with the Red King was later used to his discredit. The hostile opinion of him is cleverly put by Mr. Rudyard Kipling into the mouth of Sir Richard Dalyngridge.[1] The good knight makes him an arrant time-server—"Smooth William of Exeter," who echoes every saying of Henry I., and exults over the misery of the dying Harold until he is sharply checked by his king.

Actually there is no reason to believe that William de Warelwast was in any sense a bad man: the worst which can be said of him is that he was, apparently, one of those who are inclined to be dominated by stronger minds; and probably it needed a very strong individuality not to be cowed by the half-savage energy of William the Red. Otherwise the third Bishop of Exeter may perhaps be justly described as more loyal to his king than his pope, and rather more of an official and diplomatist than an ecclesiastic. The accusation is, after all, not a very heinous one. He was much involved in the famous quarrel between the saintly Archbishop Anselm and Kings William II. and Henry I., and as, like most of his colleagues, he

[1] *Rewards and Fairies*—"The Tree of Justice."

was inclined to the side of the kings, his reputation has suffered. Modern historians have for the most part recognised that, despite his fine personal character, Anselm was, on the whole, in the wrong, and advanced ecclesiastical pretensions which tended to be mischievous. Once free of the sinister influence of William Rufus, William de Warelwast seems to have done his best to make peace between Henry I. and the archbishop.



PROBABLE PLAN OF THE NORMAN CATHEDRAL OF EXETER WITH WESTERN TOWERS AND EASTERN APSES

On the death of the aged Osbern, probably about 1103, Henry appointed Warelwast Bishop of Exeter. There is no need to suppose that "he fawned on the king for his crozier." He was an ecclesiastic and a very valuable public servant: the mitre was a fair reward for good service. Despite his royalist predilections he had a strong personal regard for the good archbishop. He took a prominent part in arranging the compromise at Bec in 1106, by which the dispute was temporarily settled to the advantage of the king and, as it cannot be doubted, the ultimate good of the country. On 11th August in the following year he was solemnly consecrated by Anselm, together with four other bishops of Henry's nomination. He continued to serve the king, especially in diplomatic missions, for which he had many qualifications. Learned he was not—learned, that is, in his ecclesiastical profession—but he was notable for his gift of

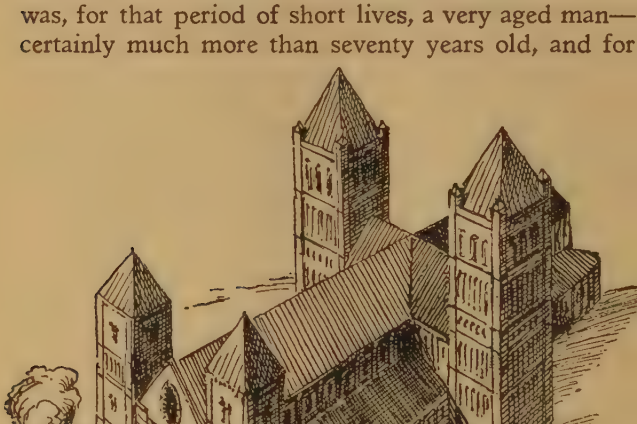
eloquence and lacked neither courage nor resource. Such was the man who laid the foundations of the beautiful Cathedral of Exeter.

One feels disposed to go somewhat farther than William de Warelwast's obviously unsympathetic ecclesiastic biographers, and to pronounce that he was an artist of bold and original ideas. The design of Exeter Cathedral is universally acknowledged to be unique, and to Bishop William must the credit be given, if not of having originated it, at any rate of recognising the genius of his master builder.

In dimensions the new church was not unworthy of the age. The nave seems to have been of the same length as the present one; the chancel is considered to have terminated in an apse eastward of the bishop's throne. Archdeacon Freeman thinks that the west front was flanked by towers very similar to, though much smaller than, the great transeptal structures. When complete the cathedral must have been a very stately example of Romanesque architecture, and if the rest of the building possessed the qualities of the transeptal towers it was graceful no less than massive. Its general appearance must have been, even then, almost without parallel. Only two cathedrals in Western Europe bear any resemblance to it — Chalon-sur-Saone and Lyons, and Lyons at least is certainly later.

Before William de Warelwast's cathedral was finished, Exeter, in 1136, was seized by the baron Baldwin de Redvers, in revolt against Henry I.'s successor. Stephen, an active soldier though a feeble monarch, hurried to the west and recaptured the city, but the cathedral did not escape damage.

In the following year the first of Exeter's great building bishops passed away at Plympton Priory. He was, for that period of short lives, a very aged man—certainly much more than seventy years old, and for



CONJECTURAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CATHEDRAL OF EXETER AS A NORMAN BUILDING

The existing building is this structure modified in Gothic times and with the western towers removed.

some time he had been blind. His detractors would have it that this was his punishment for having alluded to the incapacity of his predecessor! He was buried where he died; and so the first, perhaps the greatest,

EXETER CATHEDRAL FROM THE SOUTH-EAST

From a drawing by John Salmon published in 1837. *Engraved by B. Winkles.*

of the creators of the cathedral does not lie in the church which he founded. His tomb has vanished; but for eight centuries past the two massive towers, their sides rich with arcading of the purest Late Romanesque school of art, have perpetuated, and will long continue to perpetuate, the memory of their builder, the quick, chatty, impressionable Franco-Norseman from the little hamlet near Yvetot—William de Warelwast.

Five bishops officiated in William's cathedral, and for a century, more or less, continued, according to their means, to enlarge and embellish it. William de Warelwast was followed by Robert of Chichester, who was succeeded by Robert de Warelwast, a nephew of William. To him succeeded Bartholomew of Brittany, a somewhat noteworthy figure, a very active prelate and ecclesiastical reformer, a writer and a patron of literature. On his tomb he styles himself "Iscanus," and hence has sometimes wrongly been described as an Exonian born. He was not inclined to support the high pretensions of Thomas à Becket, but nevertheless preached the sermon in Canterbury Cathedral at the solemn service of purification or "reconciliation" after the desecration wrought by the murder of the archbishop.

Bartholomew was followed by John "the Chanter," and John by Henry le Marshall, brother of William le Marshall, the famous soldier-statesman, Protector of England during the early years of Henry III. During this period various minor additions were made to the cathedral, but it was probably Henry le Marshall who enlarged it nearly to its present dimensions

by removing the Romanesque apse, extending the chancel eastward by four new bays, building a retro-choir and completing the eastern end by commencing, if he did not finish, the Lady Chapel with its flanking shrines. By him, or one of his predecessors, the work was commenced of connecting the lower stages of the towers with the body of the church by cutting arches in their massive Norman walls.

The style of these additions must, for the most part, have been Transitional, and the pointed arch made its appearance in the cathedral.

No notable alteration was made to the church itself for some seventy years after Henry le Marshall's building: but the crusading bishop, William Bruere (1223–44), built the chapter-house, and fitted up the new choir with stalls, of which the most notable decorations were the famous and unsurpassed "miserere" carvings. It was apparently Bishop Walter de Bronescombe (1257–80), himself a native of Exeter, who conceived the idea of rebuilding the whole church and began to collect materials for the work, but his actual achievement was confined to the remodelling of St. Gabriel's Chapel, in which he was buried.

It was his successor, Peter Quivil, another Exonian by birth, who actually commenced the work of transforming a Romanesque and Transitional church into a Decorated Gothic building. This son of Peter and Helewisa Quivil of Exeter opened another succession of building bishops more remarkable than the first. By common consent Bishop Quivil is hailed as the founder of the new cathedral.

None the less, even an enthusiastic admirer like

Bishop Walter de Bronescombe's Tomb in Exeter Cathedral
Between St. Gabriel's Chapel and the Lady Chapel.

Archdeacon Freeman does not seem quite to comprehend the essential artistic eminence of the man. That his ideas and his plans were the very soul of the marvellous remodelling has never been doubted. But he did *not*, as the worthy archdeacon declares, without any pulling down transmute the stately Romanesque fane of Warelwast and le Marshall into "a structure of the most airy lightness and grace." This saying contains an injustice to Quivil and a depreciation of the unique characteristics of the cathedral. That which Quivil conceived was the transformation of a building of massive strength and solemnity into one which united both these qualities with rare beauty and richness of ornament, and perfect, stately grace. The somewhat meretricious characteristic of "airy lightness" is not to be seen in Exeter Cathedral. Instead there are to be found beauty and vigour combined in an unparalleled harmony. Light and airy grace often conveys the impression of frivolity, sometimes of weakness, not infrequently of unrest. None of these is apparent at Exeter, where Romanesque mighty strength is wonderfully blended with Gothic elegance. The grand beauty of the church does not attract and fascinate: it commands and impresses. It is the divine loveliness and vigour of the Athene of Pheidias, not the sensuous human attraction of the Aphrodite of Praxiteles. With all his admiration, I think that Archdeacon Freeman did not quite accurately appreciate the spirit of the cathedral which he loved.

What is never questioned is that the whole idea of transformation was Bishop Quivil's: probably he

drafted complete plans for the great work. He is emphatically the second outstanding figure in the architectural history of the church as William de Warelwast is the first. And, be it noticed, the second genius recognised the greatness of his predecessor and left his stately towers to adorn and dignify the transformed edifice.

The lower stages of the towers were, as has been said, practically converted into transepts by one of Quivil's predecessors, presumably by Bronescombe; but, though archways had been cut in the thick Norman walls, the walls themselves still extended half-way to the roof, so that the design was unfinished. Quivil removed the remaining portions of the partition walls and enriched the existing arches, completing the transeptal idea by inserting Decorated windows in the south and north sides of the towers. The effect was internally admirable. Externally it cannot well be denied that it is inharmonious; the pointed openings with their tracery, beautiful in themselves, clash badly with the equally beautiful arcading of the towers. Yet, since Quivil would not be guilty of the sin of destroying two glorious monuments of a dying school of architecture, better might not be.

Then the work of transformation went forward, never entirely to cease for more than a century, though progress was often slow. The huge solid Romanesque circular columns were replaced by quadrangular Decorated Gothic piers, also solid, and probably of equal diameter with those which they superseded, but fluted with such admirable art as to give the impression of a core surrounded by

sixteen slender shafts. The effect is most remarkable, the strength of the device being fully as apparent as the beauty of the design.

The semicircular arches were replaced by many-ribbed Decorated arcades of exquisite outline and beauty of enrichment. Above the bays was carried from end to end a graceful triforium. In the clerestory the narrow Norman windows were replaced by large Decorated openings with varied tracery; and the balustrade was superseded by a delicate successor of engaged quatrefeuilles. At the spring of each bay elaborately carved corbels were imposed upon the thick Norman walls, and from them shafts were carried up to the top of the triforium, where they spread out into the splendid vaulting of the roof. The single feature of the conception which does not afford complete satisfaction is the triforium, which is so low as to give the impression merely of a dividing band between arcade and clerestory instead of an independent stage.

The design was Quivil's; but that master, in his twelve years' episcopate, was able to execute only a part of his magnificent purpose. It would seem that his special share of the work was the transformation of the group of chapels at the eastern end; the adaptation of the tower transepts, including the throwing out from them of the chapels of St. Paul and St. John the Baptist; and, probably, the completion of one bay east and west from them. To him succeeded in 1292 Thomas de Bytton, who almost completed Quivil's work as regards the choir and gave the finishing touches to the eastern chapels.

Until Archdeacon Freeman printed his illuminating little book in 1888, Bishop Bytton's really enormous share in the transformation was not generally recognised. The greater part of the choir as it exists to-day is unquestionably his work. For fifteen years he laboured at the task which had been commenced by Quivil and left as his monument the choir almost complete, passing on the torch of artistic enthusiasm to a worthy successor, one of the foremost patrons of art and learning in England—Walter de Stapeldon, a Devonian by birth, Professor of Canon Law in the University of Oxford, and at this time precentor of the cathedral.

Walter de Stapeldon, not the least of those men of Devon who have left their mark upon the history of England, carried on the work of his predecessors with much energy, though sorely impeded at first by lack of funds. He contributed largely from his personal resources, his subscriptions amounting to over £1800 in eighteen years—an enormous sum, equivalent in purchasing capacity to at least £35,000 in 1913. He loved his cathedral, and spared neither pains nor money in the effort to make it worthy of its place as the great sanctuary of the West.

Stapeldon began by finishing the choir. The arcading and vaulting were almost complete: but Henry le Marshall's walls (eastward of the bishop's throne) were not so thick as those of William de Warelwast, and Bytton had thought it impossible to continue the triforium, though the omission spoiled the whole appearance of the building. Stapeldon perceived the defect, and rectified it by a device which shows his

artistic genius. He imposed a blind arcade upon le Marshall's walls, so that the triforium appears to continue to the east end, though actually it ceases at the bay beyond the bishop's throne. It was a bold and successful device to save imperilled harmony, and to Walter de Stapeldon must the credit of the conception be given. He added the final touches to the vaulting of the chancel and to the subsidiary chapels; commenced the extension of the cloister, which hitherto had been no more than a single gallery; built the gorgeous *pulpitum*, now called the choir screen; gave the bishop's throne; erected a high altar of hitherto unequalled beauty and richness, lavishly adorned with silver; and added the lovely sedilia on the south side.

One of Walter de Stapeldon's actions with regard to the rebuilding is especially worthy of notice, as it shows how careful he was to pay honour to the memory of his predecessors. In 1319–20 there is in the Fabric Rolls a charge of 9d. for "digging and making a grave for my lord William Bruere, Bishop"; and next year a similar entry of 9d. for "making a grave for my lord R. Warwest" (Bishop Robert of Warelwast). The explanation is that the bodies of these bishops were solemnly reinterred in the now completed choir. The second entry is of special importance, because, since Walter de Stapeldon took such care to have Robert of Warelwast reinterred in state, it would seem that he recognised him as one of the great "building bishops." I would suggest that it was he who completed the Norman cathedral founded by his uncle.

Under Stapeldon's rule the filling of all the windows of the transformed portion of the cathedral with

stained glass was carried to completion. And now, having faithfully followed in the footsteps of his predecessors, this man of courage took in hand the completion of the nave, on which no work had been done for forty-five years.

Great purchases of marble, stone, and timber for scaffolding were made; and an impartial survey of the evidence leaves little doubt that about 1325 the work was at last under way. The enormous outlay in that year—£365, or, in values of 1913, not less than £7500—shows the energy which was being thrown into the task; and it seems probable that at least one more bay had been added to Quivil's "solitaire" when Walter de Stapeldon's busy life came to a sudden and terrible end. Rightly or wrongly, his political ideal was that of loyalty to his king; to him the weak and unworthy Edward of Carnarvon was the son of the mighty Edward I., and so to be served faithfully. As Treasurer of England, Stapeldon shared in his master's unpopularity, and to it was added a special grudge on the part of the Londoners owing to his efforts to police the turbulent city. Personally upright and disinterested, he lacked the force of character to set himself against the evil influence of Edward's favourites, the Despensers; and when the overthrow of the wretched king was engineered in 1326 by his wife Isabella and her paramour Roger de Mortimer, the treasurer-bishop was one of the first victims.

It seems quite certain that Queen Isabella, with all her vices, respected, and would have protected, the foremost patron of art and letters in England; but the angry Londoners were too swiftly intent upon their

prey; and Walter de Stapeldon, seized by a mob on the outskirts of the city, was murdered after a sham trial and his headless body flung naked in a ditch. As if to emphasise the moral worthlessness of all who took part in the deposition of Edward II., it is recorded that when the bishop's friends begged to be allowed to lay the poor body in the Church of St. Clement Dane's, they were refused by the rector, John Mugge, though to Stapeldon he owed his benefice!

The murder of Walter de Stapeldon was perhaps a blacker crime than the assassination of Edward II. There was a certain justification for his cruel fate, since, with the best intentions and a comparatively blameless private character, he had made himself the agent of a worthless master. But no specious reasoning can hide the fact that, whatever the failings of Edward II.—and they were indeed many and great—he was the victim of a worse woman and a worse man, backed by unfaithful deserters and cowardly or traitorous ministers quaking at the roar of armed mobs. These were, indeed, undesirable instruments of a nation's vengeance; and Edward II. appears to the impartial historian less contemptible than his undoers. And his fellow-victim has much more than a slight and transitory claim upon the gratitude and respect of Englishmen. As a politician Walter de Stapeldon was ineffective: but in Exeter College and Exeter Cathedral he has left monuments the memory of which will never die.

At least he lies in the church which he loved, amid the architectural and artistic glories which he had laboured to augment—and, as is most fitting, at the

right hand of the high altar which he had given. For his failings he paid the penalty in life: the great things which he achieved endure to this day. In the words of a beautiful Muslim prayer—"On him be peace!"

His successor, James de Berkeley, held the see for a few months only, and had neither leisure nor means to continue the work in his cathedral. Walter de Stapeldon's property had been seized by the victorious party; and when John de Grandisson succeeded Berkeley in 1327 he found unpaid debts and work at a standstill. But at once he took up the interrupted task of his three great predecessors, and, in a letter to Pope John XXII., proudly declared that, when completed, no church in England or France should be Exeter's peer. His own zeal and energy were backed by his chapter, who subscribed liberally, as did the people of the diocese, while Walter de Stapeldon's executors came forward with a generous donation.

By 1330 the work of transforming the nave was well under way. In 1332 all the piers had been delivered by the firm employed—William Canon and Son of Corfe—and were probably *in situ*. At the same time the west front was being rebuilt. The main part of the work must have been completed by 1342, for after that year the expenses drop to £35 per annum; evidently only the finishing touches remained to be done; it seems that even the western screen, often attributed to Bishop Brantyngham, must have been in the main the outcome of the energy and munificence of John de Grandisson.

In 1358 Bishop John, by the death of his elder brother Peter, became Baron de Grandisson, and when

he died in 1369, after an episcopate of forty-two years, Exeter Cathedral was in all essentials a completed fabric, vaults and arcades finished to the last sculptured stone; the west front with its great Decorated window added; and the screen at least in course of erection. It seems clear that the west front was first built, and the nave arcades continued up to it, for it will presently be seen that there must have been a slight miscalculation of measurement. On the right hand of the central doorway de Grandisson rebuilt and adapted for his resting-place a chantry chapel, now concealed behind the great screen. It is a little gem of Decorated Gothic; but the splendid tomb of the great building bishop was swept away in the reign of Elizabeth. One can imagine the pride with which John de Grandisson chose the very entrance of the cathedral as his resting-place. One should look first upon his face, and then go forward to look upon that which he had done so much to perfect. And he must have died a happy man; for, though there may perhaps be churches as beautiful in England and France, there is surely none more lovely. To his successor, Thomas de Brantyngham, he is said to have bequeathed designs for finishing the magnificent western screen, which was at any rate completed by that prelate, though the style in parts, especially the northern door, points to additions and alterations by later hands. Brantyngham added almost the final touch to the cathedral by completing the cloisters on all four sides of the garth and paving the galleries with marble.

The era of the "builder-bishops" was almost at an end, not because zeal and means were lacking, but

because there was little left to do. Further to build would have been, to use a favourite colloquialism, to paint the lily. Beautiful details were added by succeeding bishops—Stafford, Lacey, Neville, and Oldham—but scarcely any structural alterations were made. Bishop de Lacey raised the walls of the chapter-house, and Bishop Neville added its ceiling. Repairs and embellishments were executed in the cloisters, but the cathedral remained as it had been left by Brantyngham simply because it would have been criminal folly to tamper with it. Peter Quivil and Thomas de Bytton, Walter de Stapeldon, John de Grandisson, and Thomas de Brantyngham had built and transformed, round about the stately towers of William de Warelwast, until nothing more remained to be done, and Exeter Cathedral stood forth, as the building bishops had hoped, unsurpassed for beauty in the kingdom—perhaps in all Europe.

Yet scarcely had the church reached its apogee of magnificence than evil days came upon it. During the anarchic reign of Henry VI., Devon was the scene of events rarely paralleled in England, but only too common in that unhappy period. Thomas de Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, and Lord Bonville were for years engaged in open war over private differences. Such occurrences were, of course, common on the Continent, but in England they were abnormal. Matters eventually came to a head in 1455. The rivals mustered their retainers and fought a pitched battle outside Exeter on 28th October. The earl won, and celebrated his victory by plundering the cathedral and putting the canons to ransom—this while professing

to be a Lancastrian, though Exeter was notoriously loyal, and despite the fact that Henry VI. had but lately visited the city! The truth is that the turbulent barons of England simply used the Red and White Roses as badges under which to fight out their own selfish quarrels—and they had their reward, for never in history did selfish wars, savagely conducted, make so complete a wreck of a proud nobility.

Exeter made its peace with the House of York, but its sympathies appear always to have been Lancastrian. Edward IV. visited the city and no doubt did his best to conciliate it, but in 1483 it was there that Lord Dorset raised the standard of the Red Rose in support of the premature rising headed by the Duke of Buckingham against Richard III. The revolt collapsed almost as unexpectedly as it had arisen. The energetic "Crookback" hastened to Devonshire: the rebel gatherings dispersed, and Henry Tudor's fleet was scattered by a storm, so that he was forced to return to Brittany. His time was not yet.

King Richard entered Exeter in triumph and signalised his success by the execution of Sir John de St. Leger, the principal Devonian leader of the revolt. The city made its peace apparently without difficulty; quite probably, then as before and afterwards, the citizens found their sympathies and interests dissociated from those of the countryfolk.

Fifteen years later, when that mysterious impostor Perkin Warbeck raised the West Country against Henry VII., Exeter held out stoutly against him. Perkin came against it with 7000 men—"not one gentleman among them," says the contemptuous

chronicler: the chiefs under Perkin, according to Bacon, were Sterne, a bankrupt mercer, Hulton, a tailor, and Astley, a scrivener. But, though tumultuary and ill-led, they were sturdy Devonian and Cornish peasants and hard fighters, and the loyal city was sorely bestead. The rebels stormed and burnt the northern and eastern gates; but the citizens barricaded the entrances and stood firm behind them, and the rebel army melted away. On 7th October the king himself arrived to congratulate his stout supporters, and received the submission of crowds of surrendered rebels. He was welcomed by the mayor, John Attwell, who for twenty years had been a sort of civic king. When the keys of Exeter were presented to Henry, the city's spokesman assured him that since the days of William the Conqueror they had never been delivered to an enemy.

The king stayed for some time in Exeter settling affairs in the West. He lodged in the house of the cathedral treasurer in the Close, but this building has long been destroyed. The cathedral must have seen his face often enough, for it is not likely that the builder of the Chapel of Westminster was unappreciative of the beauties of Exeter. At his departure he presented the faithful city with a sword of state and a cap of maintenance.

After its rude experience in 1455 the cathedral passed through the next eighty years with little or no harm. Bishop Oldham built for himself the ornate little chantry which is now his tomb—the owls of the decoration, by the way, give a clue to the pronunciation of English in the early fifteenth century. But there

was little to be done to add to the mellow glories of St. Peter's Cathedral; and the time was at hand when many of them were to be reft away. Oldham was the last bishop of the ancient order; Reginald Pole, afterwards cardinal, the last dean—as he was the last Roman Catholic Archbishop of Canterbury.

The cathedral suffered grievously at the Reformation, yet not so heavily as many other churches: probably the pride of the Exonians counted for something in saving it from defacement. Still, much wanton damage was done. Walter de Stapeldon's silver altar could not hope to be spared; but the destruction of Bishop de Grandisson's tomb was a wanton act of barbarism.

Miles Coverdale was bishop from 1551 to 1553, and his hand is unlikely to have been light upon what he would have styled Popish superstitions. It was the Visitors of Elizabeth who were responsible for the foul outrage perpetrated upon the grave of Bishop de Grandisson. Laud, a man of whom little which is good is usually to be found in history, deserves well of lovers of art for his attempts to preserve the monuments, but shortly afterwards came the Civil War.

Exeter and Devonshire were stolidly and fervently Royalist: it was said that the pruning-hooks in every orchard were forged into sword blades and pike-heads. But the armies of Parliament came more and more grimly westward, and late in 1645 laid siege to Exeter, which surrendered on 9th April in the following year. The hand of the victors lay heavy on the West Country for many a year: but the cathedral,

by the evidence of its present condition, cannot have suffered very much, though it was presently divided into two parts by a brick wall in order that Presbyterians and Independents might worship without coming to a quarrel! This abomination was of course removed at the Restoration.

The first bishop after the Puritan interval was John Gauden, the reputed author of the *Eikon Basilike*, a greedy and unprincipled man, whose translation to Worcester was no loss to Exeter. His successor, Seth Ward, was a far better man, an indefatigable worker, and also a founder of the Royal Society. He spent over £20,000 on the redemption of his cathedral from its degradation, and provided it with a new organ, the nucleus of that which still serves the church, at a cost of £2000. With Bishop Ward, whose work deserves a word of recognition, we may fitly close this record of the building of the cathedral. The organ is not very beautiful, but it is extremely conspicuous, and a magnificent example of its class; and it was given by Ward.

The cathedral was to witness one more event of primary historical importance during its long life. On 9th November, William of Nassau, Prince of Orange and Stadtholder of Holland, called by a combination of all parties to aid in the overthrow of James II., entered Exeter in state and attended divine service in the cathedral.

Bishop Lamplugh behaved as did many so-called Royalists and high Tories in those days—he exhorted his flock to resist the invader, and himself took to flight! Incidentally, for running away from the enemy

James II. gave him the Archbishopric of York! Neither king nor bishop appeared to advantage. Lamplugh might at least have stood by his subordinates, who for the most part stayed at their posts and took whatever risks there might be; and James acted most absurdly in promoting the runaway to the archiepiscopal See of York. However that may be, Lamplugh fled: William entered Exeter in military state on Friday, 9th November, 1688, and proceeded directly to the cathedral. Before the magnificent screen of Lord de Grandisson he dismounted from his white charger and entered the church by the central door, while the great organ pealed a welcome to him. With Marshal Schomberg at his side, and followed by his splendid staff of foreign and British officers, he walked up the nave; passed through Walter de Stapeldon's pulpitum and took his seat beneath the soaring canopy of the bishop's throne. With that event it may be said that the modern history of this country really began, and Walter de Stapeldon's throne may be called the first throne of the first monarch who ruled England according to the law of the land, without reference to his own personal caprice. The "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 really commenced in Exeter Cathedral.

MISERERE IN CHOIR OF EXETER CATHEDRAL

CHAPTER III

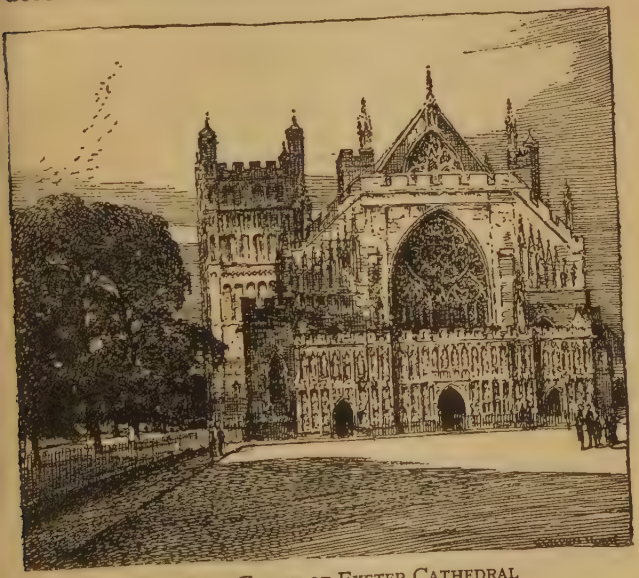
THE CATHEDRAL DESCRIBED

General

Exeter Cathedral is so situated that it is difficult to view it as a whole. A monastic church, converted into a cathedral and situated in the midst of a small walled city, would necessarily lack the broad park-like close which adds so much to the charm of Salisbury and Wells. Still, from the green on the north side a fairly complete range of the edifice may be surveyed, and an impression gained of that which differentiates it from all other English cathedrals. Unfortunately this is not by any means the point from which the church presents its most satisfying aspect. The south porch is beautiful in itself, but it breaks the harmony of the line of Decorated windows in the southern aisle of the nave, and in the same way the minstrels' gallery disturbs the external aspect of the clerestory with its unsurpassed windows, flying buttresses and graceful pinnacles. The harmony is not complete; and the feeling of confusion is to me increased by the incongruous Decorated opening thrust in among the graceful Norman arcades of the great north tower.

Eastward of the tower there is nothing which jars,

and, with the exception of the details already noticed, the general effect of the church is at once satisfying to the intellect and beautiful to the sight. There is decoration in abundance, yet not in superabundance;



THE WEST FRONT OF EXETER CATHEDRAL
Showing the great screen of Bishops de Grandisson and de Brantyngham, 1360–90.

the pinnacles and flying buttresses do not weary the eye with excess of ornament as in some Continental and certain English churches; the battlemented parapets add a touch of simplicity to the Decorated edifice which is in keeping with the strong bold outline of

the towers. The hand of masters in their profession is everywhere apparent. Towers and church are separated in style by two hundred years, yet they harmonise to admiration.

The West Front has been criticised both favourably and adversely. It is, of course, in principle a simple elaborated gable with an imposed porch-screen, and is without flanking towers. Though in general plan simple it is in detail curiously complex, even if the screen be in imagination removed. It consists of a central core—the west front of the nave—with the western ends of the nave aisles as flanking wings. But, instead of flanking towers, these are merely wings with obliqued parapets. Above this complex is a gable carried back from the main front. Finally, in advance of the whole, is the porch-screen of Bishop de Grandisson. Despite the beauty of the great west window, the wealth of statuary and sculpture of the screen, and the general novelty of the design, it cannot be said that the front satisfies.

If Archdeacon Freeman be correct in his reconstruction of the west front of the Norman cathedral it must have been a far happier conception. If, as seems almost certain, John de Grandisson were responsible for the present front, the taste of the last great building bishop was not quite commensurate with his public spirit and munificence. If, however, he were in the main simply executing the design left by Quivil, the historian must go farther and pronounce that as an artist Quivil fell below William of Warelwast. The west front of Exeter is very splendid: a satisfactory architectural complex it is not.

Yet, as the observer gazes and studies, dissatisfaction is apt to die away. The great window commands admiration with its gracious outline and its beautiful tracery: the wealth of sculpture in the screen compels attention, if not intellectual respect; and in the end the conviction is probably reached that the west front of Exeter is, after all, not an unworthy herald of the perfect stateliness and beauty which lie behind it.

The Screen has often been described in detail; and I have no intention of attempting to identify the figures which fill the triple line of niches. Probably none of the lists is complete or satisfactory; though the identifications of some of the statues are fairly obvious. But at best there is very great uncertainty. The three doorways are of extreme beauty: but that on the south (*i.e.* the right as the visitor approaches) unquestionably bears away the palm from the others. The central one seems a little feeble in outline and decoration beside it.

The evidence of records leaves no doubt that in the main the screen was due to Bishop de Grandisson; but a good deal of the work may have been executed under his successor. Some of the figures are said distinctly to be costumed as in the period 1377–99 (Richard II.), but this argument may be carried too far, for costume at the end of the reign of Edward III. merged into that of the time of his grandson. The latest armorial bearings upon it are those of Richard II. (*ob.* 1399), and this furnishes an approximate *terminus ad quem*; but there is no doubt that additions and alterations were executed later: the architectural style of the north doorway is distinctly Perpendicular.

The effect of the screen from a distance is extremely rich and impressive, though slightly monotonous. At close quarters it suffers a good deal; for the essential weakness of the conception—the crowding together of figures so closely that they lose individuality—becomes obvious. Admitting this, the critic must also admit that, *as a screen*, it has few equals.

THE NORTH PORCH is unquestionably the work of de Grandisson and, as a conception, is better than the great screen. The three delicate gable recesses are effective, and though the porch and the minstrels' gallery above spoil the harmony of the north side, yet, considered by themselves, they form a thoroughly pleasing combination and make a fine picture, looking from a little way to the south-west, with the great northern tower rising grandly from the ground to its height of 150 feet.

THE TRANSEPTAL TOWERS are essentially the great features of the cathedral. They have been described as low and massive; but it is only their bulk which gives an impression of lack of soaring height. Probably from the first they differed in details as they do to-day. The southern tower is altogether the finer of the two, having suffered little or no alteration since the days of William de Warelwast. It is forty-five feet in breadth on the south side and projects about thirty-eight feet from the body of the cathedral. It consists of six distinct stages. The two lowermost are plain. The third is decorated with a graceful Norman arcade. The fourth, much higher than the third, has as its embellishment an arcading differing in detail with a range of circular openings above. The fifth

SEEN FROM THE NORTH-WEST
SHOWING THE REMODELLED NORTH TOWER AND THE NORTH PORCH.
From a drawing by Herbert Railton

stage has ornamentation similar to that of the third, with two narrow lancets on each side. The sixth story has on each side three Norman windows inserted in a triple arcade, with narrower arches on each side of it. The turrets are ornamented in harmony with the body of the tower and are carried up a stage beyond the roof. The general effect is one of chaste, somewhat stern beauty, combined with satisfying stateliness: height and breadth are admirably balanced.

The North Tower differs in detail from its southern fellow; and its sixth story was rebuilt about 1480 in the Perpendicular style by Bishop de Courtenay for the reception of the new bell, "Great Peter." Both are disfigured externally by Peter Quivil's Decorated windows, thrust most inharmoniously into the graceful Romanesque arcades of the third and fourth stages. From the south-west, however, this is not especially noticeable in the south tower.

The reason for the building of these imposing transeptal towers has never been explained. To the writer it seems clear that Bishop William realised the cardinal defect of churches of his time—the central tower, which, on account of lack of science in constructing and in calculating the strain upon the supporting piers, had a very bad reputation for stability. The risk of disaster to his new cathedral he avoided by the device of transeptal towers, and his prescience was justified, for they endure to this day as massive and stately as when he laid their foundations.

The view from the south-west, from one of the houses in this direction, is extremely satisfactory, much more so than the better-known one from the

north-west. The west front looks better and less heterogeneous. There is no break to the harmony of the clerestory of the nave. The huge buttresses, once the north side of the cloister, give an excellent impression of vast and enduring strength; and beyond, the south tower rears its stately bulk in solemn majesty against the sky. Yet another view, perhaps the most picturesque of all, is to be obtained from the garden of the Bishop's Palace. It is picturesque by reason of the effective grouping of the Lady Chapel and St. Gabriel's Chapel, with the chancel beyond, and, on the left, the imposing mass of the south tower. But here, from the artistic and scenic viewpoint, one misses a central tower, which would fitly crown the group of beautiful buildings. Herein the eastern end of Exeter Cathedral falls far short of Canterbury in grandeur.

One feature of Exeter Cathedral seems not usually to be noticed. It is much loftier externally than internally. The internal height is marked by the base of the battlemented parapet; the dwarf light in the western gable and the rose window at the east end do not shed any light on nave and choir: they are above the vaulting. This is quite obvious to anyone who surveys the great church first from within, then from without, but it is hardly ever noted. From floor of nave to the bosses of the vault is from sixty-six to seventy feet—the statements vary. But to the ridge of the lead-cased roof is nearly thirty feet more.

The Nave

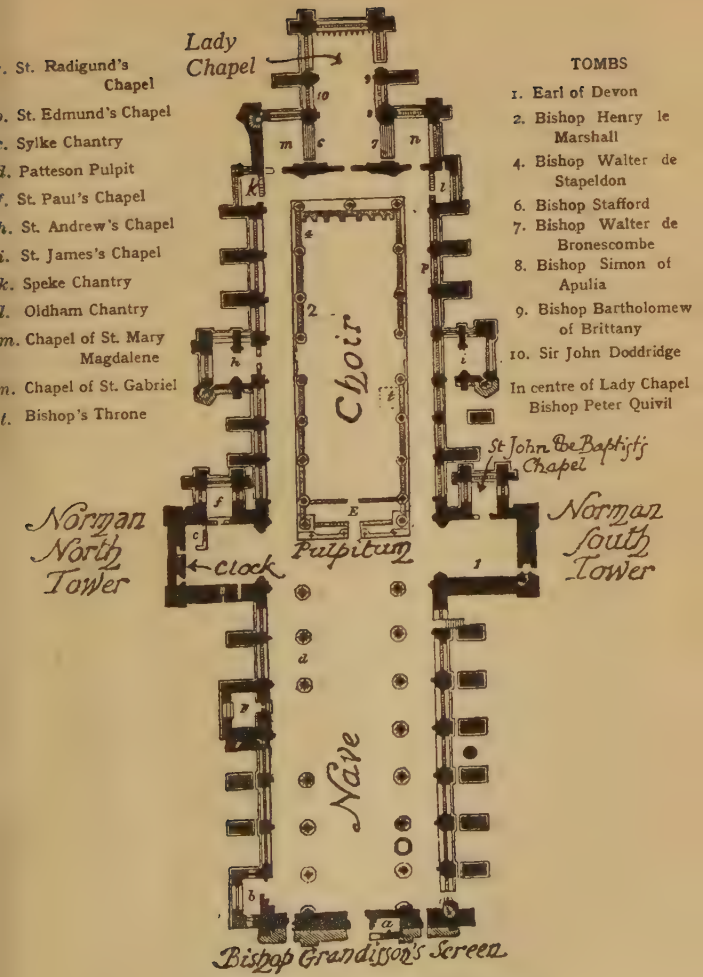
Entering through de Grandisson's screen, and taking station beneath the great west window, there lies before us the vista of the nave. There are seven bays on either hand to the crossing of the transepts, which is not especially apparent to one who looks directly up the church: Walter de Stapeldon's lovely pulpitum appears to be the proximate boundary of the view. Except for the interruption of the minstrels' gallery in the northern triforium there appears to be perfect harmony. Fourteen piers and two semi-piers uphold fourteen arches of matchless beauty. Above each arch is a bay of the triforium, each bay composed of a quadruple trefoliated arcade; and above the triforium rises the clerestory, with its ranges of richly traceried openings and balustrade of engaged quatrefeuilles. At the spring of each arch is a corbel, upon every one of which the artist sculptors seem to have lavished all the elaboration which human ingenuity can achieve. The lace-like capitals of Byzantium are not more delicate in fancy and execution than these corbels of Exeter.[1] From each of them a slender group of shafts, imposed upon the massy masonry of the walls, rises to the height of the balustrade of the clerestory, where, from capitals of simple grace, spring the spreading ribs of the superb roof vaulting. One looks in vain for a flaw: the perfect balance between Romanesque strength and Gothic grace has here been achieved.

To the writer the nave appears to be the most satisfactory part of the entire church, possibly because

[1] See illustration on p. 65.

in the choir there is much which withdraws the attention from the majestic arcades. But from the stance by the western doorway not only is the whole of the splendid nave brought under view, but the eye takes in the entire uninterrupted length of the roof-vault from west to east, only partially broken by the interposition of the organ. The position of this feature has been much criticised: certainly it spoils the vista, though the guardians of the cathedral have now adopted a theory that Seth Ward's architects were really actuated by a desire to heighten the mystery of the prospect by interposing it between nave and choir. In this way the attention of the spectator would not be drawn away at once to the beauties of the east end, thus passing over and missing the no less eminent glories of the nave. The theory is a pretty one—too pretty for the author, who must record his opinion that the good bishop placed his new organ on the pulpitum simply because that was its regular and customary position.

The cathedral unquestionably possessed an organ from the first: there is no reason to doubt that there was one in the church of Leofric and Osbern. Unquestionably it was a somewhat humble instrument beside the wonderful producers of melody which now serve our great cathedrals and churches; but it must not be supposed that it was contemptible. Organ building flourished in the Roman Empire, especially in the East, and the manufacturers of Constantinople and other great cities did not relax their energies during the Dark Ages of Europe. Pope Vitalianus (657–672) made great efforts to supply organs to the



GROUND PLAN OF EXETER CATHEDRAL

churches of the West, no doubt importing them from the East. The Frankish King Pippin, the father of Charles the Great, requested the Emperor Constantine VI. (740–775) to send him one for the church of St. Corneille at Soissons. It reached Soissons in 757, and its installation was celebrated with great rejoicing. When peace was concluded between the Eastern Empire and Charles the Great in 812, the Emperor Michael I. sent his new half-acknowledged Western fellow an organ, of which the Monk of St. Gall gives a spirited description. The pipes were of bronze; the bellows of leather; and its tones would swell from the jingling of the psaltery and the sweetness of the harp into the roll of thunder. Fourteen years later Charles's son, Ludwig the Pious, procured another organ for his chapel at Aachen.

As the Dark Age passed into the twilight of the mid-mediæval period the art of organ building is found firmly domiciled in the West. It must have flourished greatly in the xth century, and especially in England, which was probably the most peaceful and well-organised Christian power in Western Europe.

According to Wulfstan's *Life of St. Swithun*, the organ built by Bishop Aelfeah at Winchester must have been a giant: it had four hundred bronze pipes, twenty-six sets of bellows and forty keys, each of which controlled ten pipes. Clearly the pipes were small, but the whole instrument must have been very large. St. Dunstan, also, was a famous builder and improver of organs: one of his masterpieces, according to William of Malmesbury, he presented to his own Abbey of Glastonbury.

An organ Exeter Cathedral unquestionably possessed: in the Fabric Rolls of 1286 there is an entry of four shillings for repairs. It may have been quite an imposing instrument, and Archdeacon Freeman holds, as I think correctly, that its position was on the pulpitum, which would have been the proper situation from the point of acoustics. So I consider that it is useless to invent new and ingenious theories to explain the position of the organ. Bishop Ward simply followed immemorial custom and the plain dictates of common sense, somewhat regardless of scenic effect.

It is usually assumed that the entire nave, except for the single bay completed by Bishop Quivil, was the work of Lord de Grandisson; but, as I have elsewhere stated, the evidence seems clearly to indicate that to Walter de Stapeldon must be given the credit of resuming the task commenced by the "Founder of the New Cathedral." In 1328 de Grandisson liquidated an overdue payment of no less than £92 to the master marble-mason, William Canon of Corfe. Now Canon's entire contract for the nave columns was only £124 4*s.*, *so that well before* 1328 *three-fourths of the great piers had been delivered and probably fixed in position.* It is quite clear, from the wording of the final settlement of the dean and chapter with Canon's son, that the contract included erection—as would naturally be the case—and payment would not be made until the work was finished. Examination of the piers bears out the contention above stated; the bases are of differing designs, showing that two hands and not one were concerned in the remodelling of the nave after Quivil.

It would seem that of the fourteen columns four were erected by Quivil, eight by de Stapeldon, two, and two pilasters, by de Grandisson. This explanation also clears up the mysterious statement that the latter lengthened the nave by two bays. What he probably did was to complete the erection of the piers by adding the last pair and the western pilasters. This in no sense detracts from the honour due to de Grandisson; for de Stapeldon's tragic death left the work little more than begun. But the payments show clearly that of the ten entire piers (omitting halves and quarters) named in Canon's contract eight at least were delivered and erected before 1328, and probably many of the dwarf columns for the triforium. In short, if Bishop de Grandisson completed the cathedral, it was Walter de Stapeldon who began the last stage of the great task; and the majority of the piers were erected by him. It is not improbable that at his death another bay was fully completed, but the bulk of the work of transforming the triforium and clerestory and the vaulting was executed by de Grandisson.

A feature often overlooked is that the arches vary a little in span. Quivil's bay is wider than those to the west; and at the west end the two last bays are so much narrower than the rest that there is not space for the ribs of the vaulting to blend into the capitals of the wall shafts, and therefore they are folded one behind another. This is hardly noticeable from below, but it is quite apparent upon close scrutiny. It rather looks as if de Stapeldon had intended to push forward the west front, but that de Grandisson overlooked this, and proceeded with the front at the same time

as the bays, with the result that he was obliged to contract the span of the four western arcades.

These minor differences and probable errors of the builders do not at all detract from the majesty and charm of the nave, which are heightened by the general warmth of the colouring. There is nothing cold about the great building. Greys and pale reds and creams are to be found everywhere almost side by side; but the general atmosphere is that of a mellow spring. The effect is overwhelmingly impressive—so much so that there is danger of becoming surfeited with the æsthetic feast provided by the conception and colour of the whole, and forgetting to peruse the details.

These details are in themselves really of exquisite beauty. The corbels of the walls and the bosses of the vault are marvels of delicate sculpture. The effect is completed by the windows with their admirable tracery, forming a succession of pairs, opposite corresponding with opposite in all essential details. But, here as elsewhere, the genius of the mediæval artists shines forth: the tracery of the opposite openings does not absolutely match, so that essential harmony never degenerates into servile uniformity—an ideal which most modern architects seem unable to attain.

The Triforium, beautiful in itself, is probably the least satisfactory architectural feature. Its defect is that it is too low for dignity—a dividing band rather than an independent stage—and the great arches beneath impinge too sharply upon its base-line. But the details are beyond criticism: the little floriated arches are perfect in outline and elaboration, and their

C. H. Stokes.

THE SUPERB NAVE OF EXETER CATHEDRAL

Seen from beneath one of the arches of the screen or pulpitum. In this view the combination of strength and grace is very apparent. The "Minstrels' Gallery" is over the third arch from the right.

effect is heightened by the balustrade of quatrefeuilles above.

The famous MINSTRELS' GALLERY, which interrupts the triforium at the fifth bay on the north side, is held by admirers to be the most beautiful of its kind in England: its balustrade consists of twelve fronting and two flanking gabled niches, separated by miniature pinnacled pilasters, and surmounted by a double range of quatrefeuilles corresponding to the balustrades of the clerestory. The wing niches contain statuettes of saints, those on the face hold twelve figures of angels carrying musical instruments. The customary corbels at the springing of the arch beneath are here superseded by niches supported

REMARKABLE CORBEL IN THE NAVE OF EXETER CATHEDRAL

The head may represent Edward III.

upon corbelled heads, said to represent Edward III. and his wife Philippa of Hainault.

The Great West Window, whose splendour of tracery has few superiors in any cathedral, is now filled with modern stained glass, commemorating the virtues of Archbishop Temple, who from 1869 to 1885 was Bishop of Exeter. From Exeter he was translated to London, and in 1896 received the fitting reward of his noble life by his elevation to the Primacy of all England. The glass is admirable, and if not beyond criticism, it is infinitely superior to William Peckett's poor and vulgar work, which formerly disfigured de Grandisson's beautiful tracery.

Figure of Christ in the Roof of St. Radegund's Chapel

This may have been transferred from the earlier chapel.

Beneath the window on the right of the central doorway (from the exterior) is St. Radegund's Chapel, whose foundations date from the earliest days of the cathedral, but which was rebuilt as his resting-place by Lord de Grandisson. It is a tiny gem of Decorated

Gothic art, already merging into Perpendicular. The tomb of the magnificent bishop was destroyed in the reign of Elizabeth, and not a vestige remains of it: the blood boils at the recollection of such a deed, perpetrated in the sheer wantonness of mischief.

One word more. Be it remembered always by the beholder, as he surveys the splendid scene, that he is looking upon a building which is *not Gothic but Romanesque with Gothic remodelling and embellishment*. The bays and the elaboration are Decorated, but the solid walls are Norman, the work of William de Warelwast. In many places it has never been disturbed, and shows up clearly against the lighter-toned insertions of the XIVth century.

The nave might well be called the Temple of Devon. It is filled with memorials of the men of that famous county—always a little kingdom by itself. Some of them are hardly worthy of the mighty fane and its builders, for they commemorate persons insignificant in life and deed. There are others which offend the eye. But in bulk they are interesting, and testify to the existence of a very powerful sentiment of provincial patriotism. By the western door is a tablet to the memory of Blackmore. As a literary performance *Lorna Doone* is doubtless open to criticism, but its pictures of a wealthy farmer's life in the XVIIth century will surely live.

Military memorials are everywhere. In one bay a window commemorates the 469 men of Devon who died in the South African War; and around it are tablets to Sir Redvers Buller, that unfortunate general who was yet beloved by his soldiers no less than his

neighbours in his native county. With him are perpetuated the fame of two more heroes of a now half-forgotten struggle—Colonel R. E. Kekewich, the stout defender of Kimberley; and Major-General C. W. Park, who, as Lieutenant-Colonel, led the Devonshire Regiment in the great bayonet charge which recovered Wagon Hill and saved Ladysmith (6th Jan., 1900).

On the north side are two more monuments, one of them the huge and unsightly work of Marochetti, to the memory of the 9th Lancers who played so great a part in the suppression of the Indian Mutiny. Close to it is another, arousing, especially in these days of political unrest and barbarous murder in India, a melancholy interest. It is to the 32nd Foot (the Cornwall Light Infantry) which took part in the defence of the Residency of Lucknow and the equally heroic but fatal episode of Cawnpore. With the 448 soldiers are associated 43 women and 55 children butchered by that wild beast wearing a princely robe—Dandhu Panth, the "Nana Sahib" of bloody memory.

A later memorial commemorates 124 men of the 1st Devonshire Yeomanry Regiment who fell in the European War; and by it is the monument—a bronze relief depicting a private soldier in the trenches—of the officers and soldiers of the Devonshire Regiment who gave their lives for their country in the great struggle of 1914 to 1918. The deeds of the North Devonshire Regiment in the Afghan War of 1880–1 are recalled by a tablet not in itself of any special merit.

Samuel Sebastian Wesley, the famous musician, is commemorated by a tablet—and again one wishes for something a little more beautiful and appropriate.

C. H. Stokes.

THE NORTH TRANSEPT OF EXETER CATHEDRAL

It was formed by Bishop Quivil, who cut the arch into the south side of the north tower. Beneath the fine Decorated window is the ancient clock which existed in 1376.

Another tablet recently erected commemorates Henry de Bratton or Bracton, the famous jurist of the XIIIth century: "The Father of the Common Law," who was certainly a Devonian, though there is question as to the precise place of his birth. At least there is no question of the good-will of the Devonians, and their readiness to recognise the merit of the heroic or talented dead.

The visitor will not fail to turn aside to glance at THE FONT, for though it has little artistic merit it possesses considerable historical interest. It was made for the baptism of Henrietta, the fifth daughter of Charles I., who was born in Exeter on 16th June, 1644, and christened in the cathedral on 21st July. A halo of romance has collected about the figure of this ill-fated scion of the Stuart house, who seems to have possessed to the full the powers of personal fascination which were the portion of her ancestress Mary. After the Restoration she was married to Philippe Duc d'Orléans, the only brother of Louis XIV., with a view to cementing the bonds of alliance between France and England. But the marriage proved an unhappy one, and though the duke was principally to blame, the conduct of the vivacious and clever princess was not by any means faultless. She took a prominent part in arranging the morally disgraceful Treaty of Dover in 1670, by which England became bound to France in foreign policy: indeed, it would seem that the influence of Henrietta, who was practically a Frenchwoman in every respect, had much to do with the signing of the dishonourable pact. She thus rendered an enormous service to her brother-in-

law, but died a few weeks later at the early age of twenty-six. Poison was suspected—St. Simon roundly asserts that the unhappy lady was murdered by her jealous husband.

Henrietta was a true Franco-Stuart, pretty, fascinating, clever, and, it must be said, profoundly unmoral—like many of her race.

Nor need more than a passing glance be spared for THE PULPIT. It is a handsome and not unattractive structure, and its design is not out of keeping with the splendid Decorated art around it. It was erected by public subscription in 1877 to the memory of the missionary Bishop of Melanesia, John Coleridge Patteson, who was murdered by the islanders of Nukapu on 16th September, 1871. The pulpit is therefore dedicated to martyrs of the Christian religion. The principal relief shows the body of the murdered bishop being placed in a boat to be floated out to his ship. It is wrapped in a mat and on the breast is a palm-frond tied in five knots—the islanders' method of notifying that they had slain their benefactor in revenge for the murder of five of themselves by some lawless British adventurers. The tragedy by no means put an end to the active devotion of the missionaries, and it is pleasant to know that in the end the islanders realised and admitted that by a fatal error they had killed their best friend.

THE NORTH TRANSEPT

The transepts are, as has been noticed, the lower stages of the towers, thrown into the church by Peter Quivil. The plain massive Norman walls are relieved

by galleries at the level of and connected with the clerestory. In the north transept there still remain two narrow Norman doorways and a single window. But otherwise, except for the character of the masonry, the Norman features are not now internally apparent. The Decorated windows inserted by Quivil in the north and south walls complete the Gothic illusion. The remodelling of the arches between nave and transepts was probably due to Quivil also, but, though highly decorated, their outline is Early English, which tends to support the theory that they were originally the work of Bronescombe or even Henry le Marshall.

The Clock. The north transept contains the famous clock, probably that which is named in the Fabric Rolls of 1376. The cost of purchase and fixing is given at £10—"circa cameram in boreali turre pro horologio quod vocatur 'Clokke'" ("about the cabinet in the north tower, for the purpose of measuring time, which is called a 'Clokke'"). In 1424 it was repaired and painted by a certain John Budde at an outlay of £3 14*s*. 4*d*. Its face is about seven feet in diameter and is marked with two circles, one figured from 1 to 30 for the age of the moon, the other inscribed twice from 1 to 12 for the hours. In the centre is a gilded half-globe representing the earth, with another globe, the moon, painted half white and half black, revolving around it monthly, and showing the various phases. Between the two circles is a third globe representing the sun, with a fleur-de-lys to indicate the hours as it revolves about the earth. It must be remembered that in those days the ancient Ptolemaic system of astronomy, which regarded the earth as the

centre of the solar system, still held the field. The small disc which surmounts the main one was only added in 1760: it indicates the minutes. On the clock is inscribed the warning motto *Pereunt et Imputantur*. "They (the hours) pass away and are set down (to thy account)."

In this tower hangs the bell "GREAT PETER," brought from Llandaff about 1480 by Bishop Peter de Courtenay, who presented the Welsh cathedral with a set of smaller bells in return. To receive it the bishop rebuilt the uppermost stage of the tower. Its weight is variously stated at 12,500 and 14,000 pounds: in either case it is almost the heaviest in England, excelled only by Great Tom in Christchurch College at Oxford. As it exists, it is not the original bell, having been recast in 1676. It strikes the hours on the great "Clokke."

Beneath the timepiece is the CHANTRY OF CANON WILLIAM SYLKE, erected at his death in 1508. His shrouded effigy is on the tomb, and over it is inscribed the pregnant legend:

Sum quod eris, fueram quod es, pro me, precor, ora.
("I am what thou wilt be!
What thou art I was!
For thee I pray!
Pray for me!")

THE CHAPEL OF ST. PAUL opens from the east wall of the tower. It is Decorated in style, and was almost certainly the work of Bishop Quivil; but the screen is Perpendicular, and may be attributed to Bishop Oldham, the last great embellisher of the cathedral.

The north transept is not the least impressive part

of the great church, for it has preserved a large share of the stern grandeur of the Romanesque period. The northern window, with its elaboration of tracery, the triforium galleries, and the Perpendicular screen of St. Paul's Chapel, relieve the sternness but do not remove it. The outline of the arches is more severe and less opulent than that of the arcades of the nave; and so here there remains much of that spirit of simplicity which was surely the ideal of the Founder of the Christian faith.

The stained glass of the window is modern, but by no means unworthy of the tracery. It is the window of the women of Devonshire, the cost being defrayed by a subscription from Devonian women of all classes.

The South Transept

The south transept is in all essentials a replica of its sister on the north side. The stained glass perpetuates the memory of Lord Chief Justice Coleridge (1821–94), and its subjects are great lawgivers of sacred and profane history.

In the centre of the transept is the table tomb of Hugh de Courtenay, second Earl of Devon, and his countess, Margaret de Bohun. The earl died in 1377, the countess survived him sixteen years. The tomb, though considerably damaged, is a fine example of its class. The earl is in full armour with belt, sword and spurs: the countess wears the tall head-dress of the period. The monument has unfortunately been much restored, so that it cannot be regarded as fully representative of the style of its age.

For many generations the Courtenays were almost independent rulers of Devonshire, and when the royal authority was weak they, like their fellows, followed the bad example of Jeshurun of old—they "waxed fat and kicked." The sixth earl, as has been seen, laid violent hands on the cathedral in which his ancestor lay buried, and, by a fitting Nemesis, ended his life on the block six years later by the savage vengeance of Edward IV. The fourth son of Earl Hugh by Margaret de Bohun was William, that high-handed Bishop of London who is perhaps best known for his attempt to chastise Wiclif for his heresy. Another member of the family was Bishop of Exeter from 1478 to 1486, and his Christian name, Peter, still clings to the great bell which he donated to his cathedral. Yet another scion was suggested as the husband of Queen Elizabeth—a project which never eventuated.

Two other imposing tombs, of Elizabethan date, are near by. One is that of Sir Peter Carew, one of the most prominent members of a family which played a great part in the history of the XVIth century. He spent his youth on the Continent, and was one of the first of those "Inglesos Italianos" of whom it was said that they were devils incarnate. Sir Peter may not altogether have answered to this unedifying description, but was certainly as restless and ambitious as accomplished. He was Sheriff of Devonshire in 1546, and helped to suppress the great anti-Protestant revolt in 1549; but Lord Russell, the commander-in-chief, distrusted and suspected him. Later, in 1553, he acknowledged Queen Mary I., but joined in Wyatt's

rebellion and narrowly escaped with his life to the Continent. He died in Ireland in 1572, as Constable of the Tower of London: one of the last enterprises of his life was his attempt, in conjunction with a syndicate of other West Country magnates, forcibly to colonise Munster. Of that enterprise it can only be said that it was at the very root of half the troubles in Ireland for three miserable centuries. Unspeakable were the barbarities perpetrated by the adventurers; and though Kingsley has sought to throw over their doings a veil of altruism, it must be pronounced that in the main their motives were utterly selfish. Carew's monument—his body was buried in Ireland—is adorned by his kneeling effigy, and on its front are fifteen armorial escutcheons illustrating the family connections—very characteristic of the proud houses of Devon, which kept their intensely feudal characteristics down to the XVIIIth century or later.

Beside the Carew tomb is that of Sir John Gilbert, the brother of the more famous Sir Humphrey, but himself also a leading figure among the fighting men of Devon who, with all their faults and crimes, formed one of the strongest weapons with which England fought the Spaniard. He, too, was one of the scourges of Ireland, and contributed to the fleet which defeated the first Spanish Armada a ship of his own. He was of the type of the Irish "adventurers," not of that of the comparatively humane and kindly Drake. When the latter sent into Dartmouth four hundred Spanish prisoners of war, Gilbert, who was governor, asked why in God's name he had not drowned them!

Interest of a deeper kind attaches to the empty

niche, with fragments of sculpture in it, in the west wall, the supposed tomb of Leofric, first Bishop of Exeter. There is no reason to doubt that it is the grave of an early bishop, for these tombs were well known when the cathedral was rebuilt, and there are entries in the Fabric Rolls relating to the excavations of new graves, to which the honoured remains were transferred from their former resting-places. Leofric's grave occupies not improbably its original site, for he was buried in the crypt of his own church, and my opinion is that the south tower occupies part of its ground plan. The style is of course of much later date, and the authenticity of the tomb is not quite certain. Leofric may lie in the Lady Chapel and this may be that of another early bishop—possibly Osbern Fitz-Osbern or Robert of Warelwast.

Against the south wall, under the carillon, a marble slab is said to mark the resting-place of Bishop John the Chanter. In the tower above hang thirteen bells, of which twelve form the peal. They are said to be the richest in tone existing in England, and beyond question are wonderfully melodious. The tenor weighs over four tons with its clapper: it is named Grandisson after the famous bishop who donated it. All have been recast at various times since 1630.

The Pulpitum and Organ. Athwart the great chancel arch, separating the nave from the choir, stands the pulpitum built by Walter de Stapeldon, probably the most original in design of all the works of art in the cathedral, for at first sight it has the appearance of a Perpendicular structure, and only on a closer scrutiny does it become apparent that it is

C. H. Stokes.

THE UNIQUE SCREEN OR PULPITUM OF EXETER CATHEDRAL

It was built in the xivth century by Bishop Walter de Stapeldon and belongs to the Decorated period, while its design, strangely enough, suggests Indo-Persian influence rather than anything which is at all typical of pure Gothic.

actually a work of the Decorated period. It has deceived many; a drawing in Britton's *Exeter* notably emphasises and exaggerates the Perpendicular characteristics. These peculiar features are clearly due to Walter de Stapeldon's desire to produce a structure low enough for its purpose, and at the same time incomparably rich and graceful. In his design he certainly succeeded, for in his pulpitum the apogee of combined strength and beauty is reached. It consists of an oblong arcaded platform, presenting three enriched flattened arches on each side and one at either end, surmounted, on the side of the nave, by a dwarf arcade of highly decorated ogee openings.

The main arches are carried upon grouped Purbeck marble piers, which are essentially minor copies of the great columns of nave and choir. The spandrils are a network of delicate sculpture. The thirteen panels of the upper arcade are covered with ancient paintings, said to be of later date than the pulpitum itself, and also described as of inferior workmanship, but unquestionably quaint and interesting. They depict thirteen principal episodes in biblical history, commencing on the north with the Creation and ending with the Descent of the Holy Spirit on the Day of Pentecost. The statuettes of the corner niches have vanished, but it is difficult to pronounce that the work has suffered by their loss. The general effect is remarkable, the union of strength and delicacy perfect. The artist is said to have been a Frenchman named Montacute. Quite as probably he was an English Montacute of French descent. But in any case he gave the cathedral a work of surpassing

beauty. The master-mason who constructed it was William Canon of Corfe, who with his son supplied practically all the Purbeck marble for the cathedral from 1310 to 1332. When it was finished the dean and chapter presented him with a handsome bonus of £4, say £100 in pre-war value.

On the pulpitum stands the splendid organ, not in itself a thing of beauty, but one of the finest instruments in existence. One wishes it elsewhere, but it occupies its proper place, and where else could it be stationed? It was built by John Loosemore of Exeter in 1665, to the order of good Bishop Ward, and reconstructed for the last time in 1891. For the information of the expert, it contains four manuals and pedals, and sixty-nine stops. The thirty-two-feet pedal pipes are against the wall of the south transept. The case is the original one, enlarged east and west: it is not in itself unsightly or undignified—but it is not in keeping with the architecture around it.

The Aisles of the Choir

The aisles of the choir call for little notice in themselves: they retain throughout the aspect of dignified beauty which is the prevailing feature of the cathedral. Their principal interest lies in the tombs with which they are filled.

Entering The South Aisle, the first conspicuous object is the huge Jacobean tomb of the extremely insignificant bishop, William Cotton, which need not detain the visitor, who will prefer to scan the bosses of

the vault, two of which claim to be portraits of King Edward I. and his beloved wife, Eleanor of Castile. Exeter saw their faces in 1285, when they spent their Christmas in the capital of the West. It may be that the great builder-bishop who then presided over the diocese showed them his plans for the transformation of the stern stately church in which they knelt to worship: perhaps he sketched their features that their sculptured likenesses might adorn his new work. Twelve years later the great king was again in Exeter, but the wife whom he had loved so dearly, and who had given him a love as strong and true, was with him no longer; and if, as is likely enough, he saw the beloved features sculptured on the roof of the choir aisle, he must have felt the more bitterly his irreparable bereavement.

Opening from the south side of this aisle is the Chapel of St. James, now used as a registry and vestry. It was probably built by Bishop le Marshall when he lengthened the choir, and remodelled by Bytton. It had two altars, and contains the door into the crypt wherein is the wind machinery of the organ. Also there is a tomb erected about 1420 by the saintly Bishop Edmund de Lacey to the memory of Leofric. Nearly opposite are two arched recesses, beneath which lie the unnamed effigies of two knights, supposed to be Sir Humphrey de Bohun, father of Countess Margaret of Devon, and Sir Henry de Ralegh. The identification is extremely doubtful, and both figures appear to me, by the details of the armour, to be not later than 1260–70. On the pavement in front of them is the brass of Sir Peter de Courtenay, badly defaced

but still decipherable, and a fine example of early xvth-century work. Close by is the plain altar tomb of James de Berkeley, the short-reigned bishop who filled the brief interval between de Stapeldon and de Grandisson.

At the end of the south aisle, facing down the retro-choir, is St. Saviour's Chapel, re-decorated early in the xvith century as the chantry of Bishop Oldham (1504–19), the last holder of the See of Exeter under the Roman rule. Oldham is best known as the founder, in conjunction with Fox, who was Bishop of Exeter from 1487 to 1491 and afterwards Bishop of Winchester, of Corpus Christi College at Oxford. His chantry, though much defaced, still shows signs of what it was in the days of its glory, and the colouring has been gorgeously restored by the care of the college. The salient feature of the scheme of decoration is the repeated representation of an owl, the crest of the bishop, adopted with a punning reference to his name, and, incidentally, enlightening us as to the pronunciation of it in the xvth – xvith centuries. The bishop's effigy lies beneath an ogee arch. It is in full canonicals brilliant with colour, showing the tall mitre which had developed from the simple divided cap of the Saxo-Norman period.

The North Choir Aisle. Crossing the retro-choir, St. Saviour's Chapel is faced on the north side by that of St. George, usually called the Speke Chantry, as being the final resting-place of Sir John Speke, who was a contemporary of Bishop Oldham. It is similar to its sister, but the upper portion is hardly so pleasing, and the whole edifice has suffered badly from the

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SOUTH CHOIR AISLE OF EXETER CATHEDRAL

The beautiful perspective is terminated by the west end of the nave south aisle.

hand of man. Here was the door cut by the Presbyterians under the Commonwealth as their independent entrance into that part of the cathedral appropriated to their use. The most pleasing detail is the really beautiful statuette of St. Anna nursing the Child Jesus, in the niche by the doorway. How this and other treasures escaped the Puritans is a marvel: the probable explanation is that the Exonians were Exonians first and Puritans afterwards, and would not deface the glory of their city.

Beyond the Speke Chantry is the reputed tomb of Sir Richard de Stapeldon, elder brother of the famous bishop, and his helper in his scholastic foundations. The effigy is that of a knight in full armour, and beside it are the figures of a horse and a man, around which has grown up the quaint legend that as the brothers were riding together one day through London a begging cripple clutched at the leg of Sir Richard's horse and thus overthrew and killed him. After this the place of his death was named Cripplegate. It is a curious and late specimen of the "eponymous" legend, and seems to have no foundation in fact. As far as is known, Sir Richard died a natural death several years after his ill-fated brother.

Corresponding on this side to St. James' Chapel on the south is the CHAPEL OF ST. ANDREW, formerly dedicated to St. Andrew and St. Catherine. Mr. Addleshaw says that the chapel was remodelled by de Stapeldon in order that it should match St. James'. Certainly it has all the appearance of an approximate copy, very similar in character and with two altars. The doorway in the corner leads to an upper

chamber in which are kept some of the muniments of the cathedral.

There are no other monuments of interest on this side, unless a passing glance be bestowed upon that of Anthony Harvey, one of the monarchical tools who enriched himself by the plunder of abbeys, of which he was treasurer of several at the time of the Dissolution.

Returning up the aisle to the retro-choir, the visitor faces the noble group of chapels at the east end—the Lady Chapel in the centre, with that of St. Gabriel on the right and St. Mary Magdalene's to the left. The two latter are principally notable as the chantries of Bishop Bronescombe and Bishop Edmund de Stafford. Bronescombe's tomb[1] was remodelled by Stafford, who provided it with a canopy of the same design as that of his own. Probably, also, he restored the effigy of his predecessor. Both have suffered shamefully at the hands of mutilators and defacers: it is in the last degree distressing to find the initials of modern trippers scratched on these priceless monuments of the past. Bronescombe's effigy has fared the better: that of Stafford has been much defaced, but the features are still almost intact—serene and dignified with an aspect of asceticism, which may be quite true to life. The Perpendicular canopies of both tombs are in the highest degree magnificent and stately, if slightly stiff and rigid in general outline: the sculptured spandrils are fine, but they have not quite the delicate loveliness of those of the pulpitum.

There is ancient glass, probably xvth-century, in the window of St. Gabriel's Chapel in memory of Bronescombe. The bishop is kneeling in prayer; and

[1] See illustration on p. 31.

beneath is the mottoed scroll, "O Sancta Gabriele Archangelo intercede pro grata."

The window of the CHAPEL OF ST. MARY MAGDALENE has also saved its xvth-century glass. The design is similar to that in St. Gabriel's, the figure of Stafford being substituted for that of Bronescombe. On the floor beside the bishop's tomb is the small but perfectly preserved brass of his cousin, Canon William Langton. On the north side of the chapel stands the restored xvith-century monument of the Carews. Above are the figures of Sir Gawain and Lady Carew; below, that of Sir Peter, their more famous nephew. Thus, by a curious irony of fate, a man whose body was buried in Ireland has two memorials in the cathedral.

The Perpendicular screens of the eastern chapels were erected by Bishop Stafford; but that of the Lady Chapel is for the most part a restoration, having been badly damaged in the xviith century.

THE LADY CHAPEL

The Lady Chapel was built by Bishop le Marshall, but completely remodelled by Quivil. Its general appearance seems to indicate that it antedates the rest of the cathedral: the style is slightly more severe, a little less ornate, than that of the choir. The east window is almost exactly similar to the west window of the nave. The most beautiful features of the chapel are probably the Decorated tomb recesses on either hand and the sedilia on each side of the altar. They are as fine as anything in the cathedral, perfect in

outline, with a combination of purity and grace which is peculiarly captivating. The reredos was the work of de Grandisson, but it has been much restored; and the author did not find it very pleasing, the general effect being too rigid and monotonous, as if inspiration were at last failing the artists who laboured upon the adornment of the cathedral. The paintings are modern, but pleasing: the central panel depicts the Nativity: on the left are scenes from the Old Testament: on the right episodes from the life of Christ.

In the Lady Chapel are buried three bishops of Exeter. Quivil, the heart and soul of the marvellous transformation, lies beneath a slab in the centre. On the stone is a cross, and around it a rhyming verse:

Petra tegit Petrum
Nihil officiat sibi tetrum.

Apparently nothing could restrain the mediæval mind from this sort of punning verse. The actual meaning is not quite clear. There is no difficulty about the first line. It is a double pun:

The Stone (Peter) covers Peter (Stone);

but the second also may have a double meaning—either

Let nothing vile disturb it

or

Let nothing vile disturb him.

The allusion in the first case would be to the rebuilding of the cathedral, which Quivil had planned; in the second, the reference would be directly to the mortal remains which lay beneath.

On the south side, beneath the recesses, are two more tombs. That nearer the entrance is the resting-

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THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE CHOIR OF EXETER CATHEDRAL
In the centre is the Bishop's throne, and on the right is the organ, crowning the remarkable screen.

place of Simon of Apulia (1214–23), but the second, nearer the altar, is doubtful. It was formerly considered to be that of Bartholomew of Brittany: now there is a theory that it may be Leofric's. The effigy distinctly belongs to the Norman period, and nothing more can be affirmed. All identifications are dubious. It seems to me that it cannot be Leofric, since a memorial tomb was erected to him in the xvth century and, by consequence, this particular one was known not to be his. I think that it may be that of Osbern Fitz-Osbern, but the whole subject is academic. That which is certain is that the effigy is very early.

On the north side are two elaborate Jacobean monuments thrust into the lovely arcades of Bishop Quivil. They are to Sir John Doddridge, a judge of the Court of King's Bench, and his third wife, Dorothy. Sir John sprang from an old Devonshire family, and was notable as a judge of strict integrity as well as a man of great accomplishments. He was known as the "Sleepy Judge," from his considered habit of closing his eyes in court in order not to be distracted by the gestures of opposing counsel. One wishes them anywhere except beneath these wonderful Gothic arches, but the effigy of Lady Doddridge is in itself a marvel of elaborate carving: every detail of dress is perfect, so that it has been found possible to reproduce the lace of ruff and cuffs.

All the windows of this exquisite chapel are now filled with stained glass, and, though modern, it is to be said that it is excellent in colour and design, and fitly crowns the beauty of the building.

It is considered that the Lady Chapel stands upon the site of the choir of the pre-Norman church, so that the history of the bishopric and cathedral begins here. This is, however, only theory; and if the buttress on the south side of the chancel be a remnant of the early church, I am inclined to think that the choir lay outside the bounds of the present cathedral. Pre-Norman English churches were not oriented; and the angle of the fragment with the chancel wall would indicate that Leofric's minster was either to the south of the cathedral, or else covered part of the choir and extended to the south-east. In either case its area would scarcely encroach upon the Lady Chapel. In default of excavation this discussion, also, is academic and, by consequence, inconclusive.

The Choir

Turning back from the Lady Chapel and passing out of either aisle, the beholder is face to face with one of the loveliest Christian sanctuaries in the world. From the gates of Walter de Stapeldon's superb pulpitum the eye absorbs almost the whole of the matchless interior. The impression made is that of extraordinary and almost exuberant wealth of decoration. To the right hand, to the left, above and before, there is no space of consequence which is not rich with carving. Massy, many-fluted piers, arches as lovely of outline as they are chaste in ornamentation, gorgeous corbels, delicate triforium, rich clerestory balustrades, lead the eye upwards to the crowning glory of the roof. On either hand the rich woodwork of the stalls and the

tapering pinnacles of the bishop's throne act as a foil to the simple yet opulent grace of the twin arches at the east end, while over all the great Perpendicular window sheds through its manifold tracery a many-tinted light. To stand in the choir of Exeter Cathedral is to realise something of what such a shrine as Sancta Sophia must have been in the days of its glory. That such a feeling connotes Christian peace I dare not assert — but I would say that where a sense of pure beauty is, religion cannot be far distant.

CORBEL SHOWING ST. CATHERINE ON THE SOUTH-WEST PIER OF THE CHOIR OF EXETER CATHEDRAL

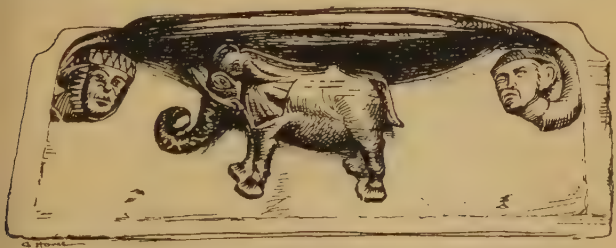
Turning to details, the stalls are modern; but they are, on the whole, in harmony with the one piece of ancient wood-carving which survives—the wonderful bishop's throne given by Bishop de Stapeldon. Fifty-seven feet from its base this glorious example of mediæval tabernacle-work in wood towers towards the roof. It would certainly seem that the artist of the pulpitum had something to do with the design of the throne: the lower arches of the canopy have the feeling of those of the marble monument at the entrance. The

resemblance to the sedilia, also, is very close. The latter tells in stone that which the throne expresses in wood. It must have been a curious lack of observation which induced Dr. Oliver, the historian of Exeter's bishops, to attribute this beautiful work of art to Bishop Bothe (1465–78). There is no trace about it of Perpendicular feeling, and very much of the exuberant fancy apparent in the pulpitum and the sedilia. It is amazing to learn that its total cost was only about £12. Three hundred pounds (values of 1913) seems a trifling outlay for such a marvel. Care was taken to restore it in 1870; but, very wisely, there was no attempt to renew the former brilliant colouring, except in the case of the portraits on the base. They represent four of the bishop-builders—William de Warelwast, Peter Quivil, Walter de Stapeldon and John de Grandisson—and presumably were added by the last-named; for Stapeldon would have included his predecessor de Bytton.

The choir stalls are the work of Sir Gilbert Scott. They were carefully designed to harmonise with the throne—but although possessing much beauty and revealing a real desire to be in keeping with the spirit of the church, there is something of hardness, of monotony, in these modern stalls which ranks them far below the masterpiece of spontaneous artistic fancy which soars above them. Sir Gilbert did his best, and every lover of Gothic art will wish him honour—but, with very few exceptions, modern ecclesiastical decorations lack the feeling which inspired these mediæval artists and craftsmen.

Beneath the seat of the stalls are placed the famous

Misereres of Bishop Bruere. Some of them are said to have been inspired by Bruere himself, and this is probable, for he was for five years on crusade in the East, together with the somewhat notorious Peter des Roches of Winchester, and may very well have desired to record in wood or stone some of the unfamiliar sights which had met his eye. The general style of the carving, spirited but somewhat stiff, supports the belief that the misereres date from his episcopate.



An African Elephant on one of the Misereres of Exeter Cathedral

The subjects, with the exception of a few which are conventional, are to the last degree varied and entertaining. There is an elephant, which is especially interesting, for it is a careful and conscientious attempt to portray an *African* elephant—the only type which Bruere is likely to have seen in Egypt and Palestine. It is rather difficult to avoid the conclusion that the bishop carried a sketch-book. Another carving depicts a monk, who seems to be "putting the stone"—perhaps he is supposed to be bombarding the Enemy of Mankind, for one finds that, according to legend, mediæval saints and demons alike were as

much addicted to heaving huge rocks at one another as the heroes of Homer and Virgil.

A third carving shows an extraordinary conception —a figure crowned, half human, half horse, saddled and bridled. It is commonly called "Nebuchadnezzar," but I think it possible that Bruere picked up among Byzantine Greeks some confused idea of a Centaur which he endeavoured to impart to his artists. There is a mermaid brandishing a fish in

One of the Misereres of Exeter Cathedral
Showing a knight in a boat towed by a sea-bird.

either hand. There are several grotesque heads, one of which is irresistibly reminiscent of some of those distorted creations of Tibetan fancy which are found in Lamaist temples and monasteries. Elsewhere are: a monk blowing away at a trumpet while he pounds a drum—which really looks precisely like a jibe at some local self-advertiser; a male centaur shooting to the rear with a bow, which seems to record Bruere's unpleasant recollections of the elusive Turkish horse-bowmen; a knight fighting a lion; a knight grappling with a gryphon; a knight in a boat towed by a huge

sea-bird; engaged birds; two mermen; a female centaur bending a bow. Very few of the designs are without originality, and it is probably true that the series is unsurpassed in England.

We go forward to the east end. As an architectural conception it is not quite satisfactory, for the haunches of the twin arches project beyond the base of the great window, so that the whole has a somewhat awkward appearance; but, here as elsewhere, the feeling of minor imperfections becomes lost in the sense of dominating harmony and splendour.

The reredos is the work of Sir Gilbert Scott, and though it may be objected that a design harmonising better with the incomparable sedilia would have been more appropriate, it cannot be denied that it is a very beautiful and delicate work of art, not perhaps unworthy of the vanished altar of Walter de Stapeldon. Its three compartments enshrine bold reliefs in alabaster depicting the Descent from the Cross, flanked by the Transfiguration and the Ascension: the canopies are elaborately and delicately sculptured, and inlaid with agate, cornelian, and jasper. I must confess that, with all its undoubted beauty and richness, it does not impress me with any deep and enduring sentiment of reverence — but perchance my own critics will attribute this to what honest Dogberry would call "flat burglary."

On the right stands the splendid sedilia, perhaps the most artistically perfect object in Exeter Cathedral, its three staged seats being covered by a sextuple Decorated arcade of exquisite beauty, crowned by tabernacle work of the same period, whose exuberance

of delicate sculpture almost wearies the eye. The triple seats were intended by the bishop to commemorate the famous ceremony of installation of Leofric, when he was led to his throne by Edward and Eadgyth. It is even said that the central stone is the very one upon which the first Bishop of Exeter took his seat—and that is perfectly possible. In the decoration are three small sculptured heads representing the king, queen and bishop, and in the tall niches of the tabernacle there stood originally three statues of the same personages. These were destroyed at the Reformation and were not replaced by the restorers —probably wisely, for new statuary would have been either too obviously modern in feeling and execution, or a necessarily lifeless imitation of the work of de Stapeldon's artist. The pulpit is modern. It is a handsome structure of Derbyshire alabaster raised on a base of Devonshire marble. It is in the Decorated style, and therefore harmonises fairly satisfactorily with the architecture of the choir. The seven panels present in relief scenes from the life of Christ, also of SS. Peter and Paul. They are appropriate enough and possess artistic merit; but the pulpit, handsome as it is, does not possess the historical interest attaching to that in the nave, and I do not find that carved reliefs are in harmony with the interior of a mediæval cathedral.

On the north side of the choir are the tombs of three famous bishops. The one nearest to the entry is that of Edmund de Lacey, the meek and saintly holder of the see for thirty-five troubled years, 1420–55. De Lacey saw the death of Henry V.; the victories and

A Portion of the Bishop's Throne in the Choir of Exeter Cathedral

The painted panel shows a representation of William of Warelwast.

defeats of the reign of his hapless son, whom he received at Exeter; the murder of Jeanne d'Arc; the end of the English Empire in France; and the loud murmurs of the strife of factions which culminated in the Wars of the Roses. He died in September 1455, taken away in time from the wrath to come; and scarcely had he been a month in his grave when the Earl of Devon plundered the cathedral. The plainness of his tomb is probably due to the fact that his successor was the ambitious and irreligious young politician, George Neville, brother of Warwick "the Kingmaker." Such a worldly place-hunter was very little likely to pay respect to his gentle predecessor, though his love of magnificence did impel him to complete the splendid roof of the chapter-house.

Next to it is the highly ornate and interesting resting-place of Henry le Marshall, the last of the early school of building bishops. The sides are decorated with *quatrefeuille* medallions, separated by smaller panels all bound together by an intertwined banding, and surrounded by foliated carving in relief. The effigy is of great interest; the face is obviously too much elongated, but is evidently intended as a portrait. The mitre is simple, but the cope is most extraordinary, being scalloped in a style which strongly resembles the foliage of Early English Gothic. Unhappily the monument is much enclosed and difficult of examination.

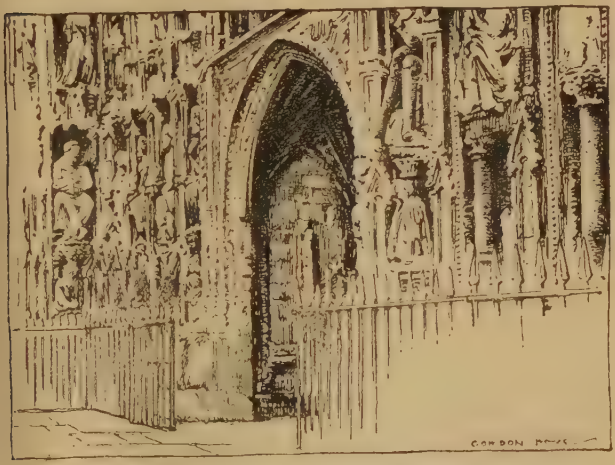
At the right hand (*i.e.* the north) of the altar, which was his most magnificent if not most beautiful gift to his cathedral, lies the body of the murdered Bishop Walter de Stapeldon.[1] The tomb was presumably

[1] See frontispiece.

erected by de Grandisson, who evidently held the memory of his predecessor in great respect. In a letter to Canon Robert de Tawton in 1334, he declares his intention of erecting a tomb and chapel, with a perpetual chantry, in the suburb of London in which de Stapeldon was originally buried.

It is quite true that the letters seem to say that the body is still there, but a study of the phraseology inclines me to believe that de Grandisson either made a slip in the haste of writing or that he employed the present tense historically. For the *Chronicon* of Exeter says that de Stapeldon's body was solemnly buried on 28th March, 1327. The place of sepulture is not mentioned, but is evidently Exeter: had it been elsewhere the chronicler would have named it; but, writing of his own cathedral, he did not trouble to emphasise a fact known to his readers. The Registrar of Newnham, a contemporary, says that the bishop was buried at Exeter. So does Gower, the famous Bishop of St. David's, in a letter dated 16th August, 1328. The independent evidence to the entombment at Exeter is overwhelming, and it must be assumed that Bishop de Grandisson's letter has in some fashion been misinterpreted. On the whole it is probable that the tomb was erected at some time between 1327 and 1334, for de Grandisson would scarcely have proposed to set up a memorial in London before paying that obvious mark of respect to his predecessor in his own cathedral. The alternative supposition is that the ill-fated bishop was buried in St. Clement Danes, as is sometimes asserted, and that in 1334 de Grandisson proposed to erect a tomb over his

remains, afterwards changing his mind and reinterring the body in his cathedral beneath the existing monument. I am not inclined to believe that three contemporaries, who should have possessed excellent information, were all in error; and suggest that



THE CENTRAL WESTERN DOORWAY OF EXETER CATHEDRAL

Showing details of the statuary of the screen. The St. Radigund Chapel is behind the niches on the right. It was remodelled by Bishop de Grandisson as his chantry.

Bishop de Grandisson's letter has been misunderstood. It seems quite clearly to say that the suburb of London was the *first* and not the final place of sepulture.

Beneath a richly decorated canopy which already, by its outline and carving, marks the near approach of

the Perpendicular style, is the effigy, a very fine example of XIVth-century sculpture. The face is perhaps an idealisation, though materials for a portrait would hardly have been lacking. The features are intellectual and refined, but there is a certain feminine quality about lips and chin which helps to explain Walter de Stapeldon's failure as a statesman. On the under surface of the canopy is a representation of the Saviour, His feet resting upon a sphere emblematic of this transient world and hands raised to bless the grave wherein the mortal remains of Walter de Stapeldon sleep in peace, heeding neither praise nor blame.

Over all the beauty and historic interest of the choir the great east window casts its many-hued radiance. Originally Decorated, probably almost exactly similar to the great west window of the nave, it was remodelled about 1375 by Canon Henry Blakeborne in the Perpendicular style, much to the disgust of Archdeacon Freeman—disgust with which I cannot agree. In my opinion, if the east window be less charming than its fellows it is distinctly more dignified. And it has preserved much of its ancient glazing. It is a worthy ornament of the wonderful choir.

The Chapter House and Cloisters

As there was no monastery at Exeter a cloister was not an absolute necessity, but the enterprise of the great building bishops impelled them to provide it. Originally there was only a walk for the canons along the south side of the cathedral. Walter de Stapeldon

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THE RETRO-CHOIR OF EXETER CATHEDRAL
Showing the restored Perpendicular screen of the Lady Chapel.

commenced to embellish this, and the work was completed by de Grandisson, who perhaps also extended the single gallery by the addition of another. By Bishop Brantyngham they were finished on all four sides of the Garth. This was in 1380–81. Eight years later they were paved with marble. After the Dissolution they were neglected, and mostly disappeared during the XVIIth century; the chief remains are on the north side, where the blocked archways may still be seen piercing the great south buttresses of the cathedral.

The CHAPTER HOUSE owes its origin to Bishop Bruere, who, when starting on Crusade, appointed a dean and chapter to rule his see during his absence, and made a grant of land as the site of their place of meeting. The lower portions of the present walls were probably built by him, and the structure was completed by his successors. Thus it remained till the XVth century, when Bishop de Lacey remodelled it in the Perpendicular style, retaining the beautiful Early English lower walls. George Neville completed the magnificent roof. The building, though not the equal of the splendid edifices at York and Salisbury, is yet very stately and dignified. The blank Early English arcading is singularly pure and chaste, and the tall Perpendicular windows above them, if somewhat mechanical in tracery, are entirely satisfactory: that at the north end is admirable in outline and proportions. But the great glory of the hall is its magnificent timber roof, which is certainly not surpassed by any one of the period. The special features are the sumptuously carved brackets and tie-beams.

The LIBRARY is in a building overlooking what remains of the Cloisters. The fine collection contains some of the most interesting MSS. in England. Here are the Exeter copy of *Domesday Book*, the *Codex Exoniensis*, an Anglo-Saxon collection of poetry, of the first value for students of early English literature, and the charter of Edward the Confessor which translated the seat of Leofric's bishopric from Crediton to Exeter. It is signed by King Edward, by the Archbishops Eadsine and Ælfric, and by twenty-one bishops, abbots and magnates, including Godwin of Wessex, Leofric of Mercia, and Harold Godwinson, afterwards the last "Saxon" King of England.

Possibly represents Osbern Fitz-Osbern, 1073–c. 1104 (*left*).

Simon of Apulia, 1214–1223 (*right*).

EFFIGIES OF BISHOPS OF EXETER

CHAPTER IV

THE CHURCHES OF EXETER

After the wonderful cathedral, the churches of Exeter must appear very insignificant. Yet if they were not utterly dwarfed by the splendid fane of the great building bishops, they would deserve more than a passing glance.

In the time of William the Conqueror Exeter possessed twenty-nine parish churches — whence it is quite clear that most of them were small chapels, and also that the parishes must have been of extremely limited area, as is indeed the case to this day, St. Petroc's Parish, for example, covering about three acres or less! Most of the churches, it may be said, bear one image and superscription, being small edifices of the local red stone with plain square towers and generally of extremely irregular ground-plan. Some of them have been much restored.

St. Pancras, in St. Pancras Lane, a little way north-west of the Guildhall, has perhaps claims to occupy the site of the Roman church—if such a church existed. The dedication is unusual for a mediæval foundation, but not for one founded in the days of Roman Christianity: the site, in its relation to what must have been the Forum of Isca Damnoni-

orum, corresponds curiously to that of the little church at Calleva. But, as it stands, there is nothing in the edifice which suggests an age much before the Conquest, and even this is extremely doubtful. A single round-headed opening and a rudely-carved corbel are too slight evidence upon which to build. The font is very primitive, and may be a Romano-British fragment; but except for the suggestive dedication, there is little to prove extreme antiquity. Most of the building seems to date from about the beginning of the XIIIth century.

St. Mary Arches, in a narrow street opening from Fore Street, is to-day the most interesting of the city churches. It has recently been restored and redecorated, and therefore has a somewhat raw and harsh aspect, but this is quickly forgotten when examining the interior. It is small like its fellows, but was originally probably the largest of Exeter's city churches. It is a Norman structure with nave and two aisles. The former has four Norman bays with built piers and crude capitals. There is a barrel-type plastered roof which, according to the authorities, conceals a wooden ceiling. The windows are all Perpendicular insertions. There was originally a chancel, but this was destroyed in 1645–46.

The special interest of the church is that it is the mausoleum of the city fathers. The entire space beneath the pavement is occupied by the graves of mayors and aldermen, and the walls are covered with monumental effigies and tablets. The most notable tomb is that of "Magister Thomas Andrus," Mayor of Exeter, who died in 1578. The portrait effigy is good,

THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY ARCHES, EXETER

From the south aisle, showing the Norman arcades. This is especially the church of the city magnates.

and the enrichments of the canopy are of some merit. The panels of the frontage hold four angels bearing armorial shields. On the whole the tomb is quite a worthy monument to an important local magnate, and the general appearance of the building, with its multiplicity of civic memorials, entirely justifies its claim as essentially the premier church of Exeter.

In the very centre of the city is the tiny parish of St. Petroc—area two and three-quarter acres! A considerable fraction of this is occupied by the parish church of St. Petroc and St. Kerrian. It was one of the nineteen churches to which, by charter of William I., the city paid each year the sum of a silver penny. It is mentioned by Bishop le Marshall in 1191, and is then described as comprising a nave and chancel. In 1413 the nave was extended and a century later a new addition, the Jesus aisle, was made. Finally, in the xixth century, the building was enlarged once more. The consequence of all this extending is that the church presents an extraordinary appearance. Across its central portion, originally the Jesus aisle, a Perpendicular arcade extends at an oblique angle, adding to the already bizarre effect. The capitals of the columns are also curious, I think unique, consisting of cherubs bearing armorial escutcheons—a most peculiar style.

The monuments on the walls were partly transferred from St. Kerrian's Church, which was demolished in 1878. One of them, with its curious marble relief of the Last Judgment, is especially noteworthy. All these religious artists appear usually to have been actuated by a strong desire to terrorise men into righteousness:

in the monument under discussion, the damnatory side of the episode is much more emphasised than that of salvation. Another monument to a civic dignitary is one of the finest in the city. The tower contains a peal of six bells, one at least of which is as old as the early xvth century.

St. Lawrence's, High Street, is not especially remarkable as a building, but contains an altarpiece worthy of notice: it represents an angel bearing a cross rising through clouds towards a crown.

On the right-hand side of Fore Street, proceeding from the cathedral towards the river, is the small church of St. Olave, another of the pre-Conquest civic chapels, but evidently rebuilt in a crude Decorated style with later Perpendicular additions. Its outline is extremely irregular: there is a narrow nave with an aisle alongside used as a choir, and a rudimentary annex on the other side. The octagonal font dates from the xvth century. The pavement is composed of inscribed gravestones, and they are worthy of study for the Devonian and Exonian names to be found upon them. Otherwise the church need not detain the sightseer: its interest lies in its quaintness. Tiny as it is, it possesses a tower, plain, square and red, like almost every other one in Exeter.

Proceeding down Fore Street and turning to the right immediately before reaching the bridge, the visitor, after a brief stumble down a steep street, finds himself at St. Mary Steps—on the whole the quaintest and most picturesque of the city churches. Externally it is a small red sandstone edifice of no architectural pretensions, apparently Decorated with

Perpendicular additions. The tower is square with plain battlements, and it has on its west side a curious XVIth-century clock. It consists of a dial inserted in a square panel adorned with rude reliefs representing the four seasons. Above is a Late Perpendicular niche containing a figure of Henry VIII. seated, sceptre in hand, with, on either side, a guard in a "jack," girt with a sword, and each bearing in one hand a partisan and in the other a hammer. They stand upon small stages beneath which are the bells which sound the quarters, the yeomen striking them with their hammers. The group is locally known as "The Miller and his Men," the miller being a certain Matthew of that trade whose punctuality was so remarkable that his neighbours regulated their clocks by his outgoings and incomings. There is an Exeter rhyme which, if authentic, indicates that the clock originally adorned the West Gate, which stood close by. Thus it runs:

> Matthew the Miller's alive:
> Matthew the Miller's dead:
> But every hour on West Gate Tower
> Matthew nods his head.

The church is composed of a nave and a single aisle, and the indications are that the nave was the original chapel, to which, in the XVIth century, the Late Perpendicular aisle was added, the west wall being demolished to make way for an arcade of two bays. The nave has a shallow pointed wooden-panelled roof. There are thirty-two panels all alike, each decorated with a St. Andrew's Cross with three stars in each quarter.

The most interesting object in the interior is perhaps the font, a very early one of Purbeck marble, possibly pre-Norman. But the chancel screen is of greater artistic value. It dates from the xvth century and originally belonged to St. Mary Mayor's Church, now rebuilt. The authorities of the latter place of worship are not to be complimented on their action in giving up a monument which, if not among the finest in the West Country, still possesses considerable artistic merit and more interest. The uppermost portions have vanished; but the open arcades of the second stage are fairly perfect, and so also are the twenty-eight panels, with their painted saints, of the lower part.

Romanesque Font in the Church of St. Mary Steps, Exeter

St. Mary Steps is in a poverty-stricken quarter, and has a certain appearance of poverty itself; but perhaps for that very reason it recalls more effectually than any other church in Exeter the recollections of the Middle Ages, when it was wedged in among densely-crowded houses and narrow lanes, swarming with human beings and animals, and full of rubbish and strange odours, breeders and propagators of many a

pestilence. The mediæval atmosphere becomes intensified when one climbs Stepcote Hill, the steep street beside the church. The rude cobble paving might have been laid down ten centuries ago: on both sides are ancient tottering houses with gables and overhanging upper stories. Women and children sit at windows and on thresholds working and chatting with acquaintances above, below and on the opposite side of the street. Domestic animals roam about the roadway—and unquestionably there are odours! But no one should leave Exeter without viewing Stepcote Hill and its continuation, Smythers Street, though it may be well to provide the means of diffusing an antiseptic!

Of the remaining churches of Exeter there is very little to be said: several are of ancient foundation, but the hand of the restorer has everywhere been at work, and most of them retain too few marks of antiquity to detain the visitor.

St. Thomas without the Walls, on the south side of Exe Bridge, is mentioned as early as 1222; but was rebuilt in the xvth century and again in the xviith, so that hardly anything remains of antiquarian interest. The vicar of this church was one of the leaders of the anti-Protestant revolt of 1549, and paid for his zeal by being hanged in full canonicals from the tower of his own church. Memories of a different kind cluster about the present building, for in it was present, in 1884, just before he started on his fatal mission to Khartoum, that strangest combination of Christian hero and soldier of fortune—General Charles Gordon. His father, Lieutenant-

General H. W. Gordon, R.A., resided for a time in the parish, and it was a wish to view a memorial to one of the family which brought "Chinese" Gordon to St. Thomas's.

St. Sidwell's is named in a deed of 1199 along with twenty-eight other parish churches. It was rebuilt in the xvth century, being consecrated in 1437 by the saintly Bishop Lacey. But it has since been rebuilt again and again, and little of the Perpendicular structure remains except the piers of the nave. There may have been a place of worship upon the site at a very early period, for St. Sativola (Sidwell) is said to have been martyred here. The legend is that she was a British princess, the daughter of pagan parents and also with a pagan step-mother. The latter discovered her step-daughter's faith and determined to murder her. One of her emissaries found the girl in prayer beside a well, and slashed off her head with a scythe. Her cult was well established at an early epoch; and her date may be conjectured to have been about 450 to 500. In any case a church soon arose on the reputed place of her martyrdom, and King Æthelstan presented some of her relics to the monastery which he refounded in Exeter.

A brass in the interior commemorates one of the heroes and victims of the last Royalist rising against Cromwell in 1655—that called Penruddock's Rebellion. It was a small and local affair headed by two Wiltshire gentlemen — John Penruddock and Hugh Groves. They were joined by Sir Joseph Wagstaffe, who had been sent by Charles II. from the Continent, and the three, with less than two hundred men, seized the

judges at Salisbury and raised the standard of revolt. But not a man would join them, and they retreated towards the west, hoping in vain to find recruits. At South Molton they were attacked and scattered by a troop of cavalry under Captain Unton Crooke. Wagstaffe escaped, but Penruddock and Groves were captured and beheaded in the courtyard of Exeter Castle. The brass in St. Sidwell's is to the memory of Groves. As it is quite in the Cavalier or ultra-Royalist spirit, it may here be transcribed:

Hic jacet Hugo Groves de Ensford
In comitatu Wilts Armiger
In restituendo Ecclesiam
In asserendo Regem
In propagando Legem
Captus est et decollatus
16 May, 1655.

(Here lies Hugh Groves of Ensford in the
County of Wiltshire, Esquire.
While restoring the Church
Supporting the King
And maintaining the Law
He was taken and decapitated,
16 May, 1655.)

And since Exeter proudly styles itself Exeter the loyal, with the above little glorification of Cavalier loyalty this glance at the churches of Exeter may be concluded.

CHAPTER V

SOME NOTABLE DEVONIAN CHURCHES AND ABBEYS

Chudleigh — Ashburton — Buckfastleigh Abbey — Holne —Tavistock—Tiverton

CHUDLEIGH

Two churches in the neighbourhood of Exeter claim a passing notice, one for the sake of the historical associations of the town, the other on account of its intrinsic merit. The first is that at Chudleigh. In itself it is not especially remarkable. The square tower was built about 1259 and the body of the church early in the XIVth century, but much restoration has obliterated, if it has not destroyed, almost every sign of antiquity excepting the piers, of which one is a granite monolith. The south aisle is of the XVIth century.

The church, like most of those in Devonshire, possesses a chancel screen of fine XVIth-century woodcarving, but here also the hand of the restorer has been busy. There is also some fine carving upon the choir stalls and the front pews of the nave. The sculpture of the screen panels represents figures of apostles and prophets alternately, and is as good as

any in Devon. The one notable monument is the Jacobean tomb of Sir Pierce Courtenay in the chancel. It dates from 1607.

Chudleigh, however, had more than a transitory historical interest, for here has been settled for several centuries the Devonian branch of the famous house of Clifford, whose seat of Ugbrooke is in the vicinity. It was from Chudleigh that Sir Thomas Clifford, the famous minister of Charles II., took his title when raised to the peerage. The first Baron Clifford of Chudleigh has acquired, somewhat unjustly, an unsavoury reputation as one of that "Cabal" to which many misdeeds are popularly attributed. Macaulay calls him "the boldest and fiercest of the wicked Five," but elsewhere admits that, as compared with his villainous colleagues, he was an honest man. Of that there is really no doubt. He was a very strong, rather unscrupulous Royalist in politics; also—which is decidedly unusual with Englishmen—a believer in royal despotism as opposed to parliamentary government. It must be admitted that the character of the parliaments of the time was an argument in Clifford's favour.

Clifford was personally brave, and fought in many battles against the Dutch. Evelyn says of him that he was a valiant, uncorrupt gentleman, ambitious, not covetous; generous, passionate, a most sincere friend. To be uncorrupt was a most astonishing virtue at the court of Charles II., and Clifford was not a rich man, as far as is known. He was ruined, politically, by the intrigues of disloyal colleagues in 1673. He retired to Ugbrooke and died shortly afterwards. Probably he

took his own life, hurried into the fatal act by his proud supersensitive temperament. He was only forty-three years of age.

Ashburton

Chudleigh will not detain the visitor long; but Ashburton Church is distinctly more interesting by reason of its exterior. It is a cruciform building, chiefly in a somewhat crude Decorated style, with a well-proportioned Perpendicular window at the east end. The nave has five bays with octagonal pews and simple capital; one of the piers is a monolith ten feet high and twenty-two inches in diameter. The roof is a timber-waggon vault. The accessories are modern, and the interior has been much restored, but the work has been well carried out. The only monument of interest is to John Dunning, first Lord Ashburton, with an inscription by Johnson.

The exterior impresses by its tall Perpendicular tower with the stair turret in the middle of the south side. The main porch is sometimes called Transitional, but seems rather to be Early English in its style. Its appearance is somewhat original: above the doorway is an ogee opening flanked by two others on a larger scale.

Ashburton itself owes its chief attraction for visitors to its proximity to Dartmoor; but it was anciently a place of local importance engaged in the making and fulling of woollen cloth. It is picturesquely situated in a hollow and its four streets converge upon a central square which was once the bull-ring. It may

ST. PETROC'S AND ST. KERRIAN'S CHURCH, EXETER

One of the churches of the city of Exeter, showing typical XVIIth century wall monuments.

(*See page* 103)

be noted that in South America and small Spanish towns the central *Plaza* is commonly used for bull-fighting, the streets being barricaded for the purpose.

It possesses a Grammar School, one of the most celebrated in Devonshire, and also the oldest, founded by that notable man of Devon, Walter de Stapeldon. Wherever one goes in the West it is impossible to avoid encountering traces of those two builder-bishops, Walter de Stapeldon and William de Warelwast; the impress of their hands is to be found at every turn.

Ashburton played no special part in history; its one stirring memory dates back to 1646, when Fairfax passed through it with the New Model Army on his way to crush the last Royalist army in the West. Fairfax himself lodged at the Mermaid Inn, now a shop in North Street. William Gifford, the first editor of the *Quarterly Review*, was born at Ashburton.

Buckfastleigh Abbey

It would be ungracious to pass over the ecclesiastical buildings in the district of Exeter without reference to the Abbey of Buckfastleigh, which, after a lengthy period of desolation and ruin, was acquired in 1882 by some French monks of the Benedictine Order and is now, after more than forty years of effort, acquiring something of the appearance of one of the great monastic establishments of the Middle Ages. The abbey was founded for Cistercian monks in 1137 by Ethelwald de Pomeroy, on the site of a still earlier Benedictine house. It prospered exceedingly, and was

accounted one of the wealthiest in Devonshire. It was suppressed in 1538 and fell into ruin, its materials

BUCKFASTLEIGH ABBEY

Remains of the xvth-century Abbot's House.

being employed to build the houses and a factory in the village. When the French monks took possession, there remained little more than the ground-plan of

the foundation partly occupied by a modern private house.

The number of monks who settled at Buckfastleigh in 1882 was five. Only one of them had any practical experience of building in stone; but they set to work to restore the ruined monastery. To-day, after forty-three years, the body of the church is nearly complete and the domestic quarters are well advanced. The model for the restoration of the church was clearly Romsey Abbey, and it must be confessed that the monastic masons have produced a very faithful and, indeed, a living copy of a Late Norman place of worship. Into the details it is unnecessary to go, but they are certainly effective, and though everything is new the aspect of the church is not aggressively raw and staring. Every care has been taken to include the remains of the mediæval masonry into the new work.

The weak point of the projected design is the tower, which it is proposed, when funds are available, to carry up to a great height, capped with a blunt spire, after the pattern of those of Noyon. This appears to be an error. The tower is at present unfinished, but if the present temporary second stage were completed in accordance with the architecture of the church and crowned with a true conical Norman roof, the result would be thoroughly effective and harmonious. It would be unfortunate if, after years of patient endeavour, which, irrespective of differences of religion, all honourable men must admire, the good fathers should spoil their chaste and stately Romanesque church with a huge inappropriate central tower.

Of the ancient abbey buildings the only intact

remnant is a part of the abbot's house, an ivy-clad building apparently dating from the last years of the old foundation. It is a picturesque feature, but is not in itself of special interest.

Holne

The most cursory survey of the churches of South Devon would be incomplete without mention of Holne, where, on 12th June, 1819, was born one of the most remarkable of modern Devonians—Charles Kingsley. As far as situation is concerned, Holne is a place not unworthy to have been the birthplace of a great man: it stands on the crown of a high ridge on the outskirts of Dartmoor, and it is easy to understand how the fancies of the imaginative boy were stimulated by the wild landscape around the village. The church, of which his father was curate-in-charge, dates from the XIIIth century and possesses in itself considerable interest.

It is a complete cruciform church with two chapels. The nave has five rather crude Early English bays, and ten of the twelve piers which support the arches are monoliths. This use of monoliths in the churches of Devonshire is quite common. The roof of the nave is a good example of XVth-century wood vaulting; that of the chancel appears to be for the most part a restoration, but the bosses may be the original ones.

The church has the chancel screen so common in the West, and a fine pulpit. Both appear to be of the early XVIth century, and are excellent examples of

HOLNE CHURCH ON THE EDGE OF DARTMOOR

Charles Kingsley's father was curate-in-charge of this church, and at Holne the famous parson, novelist and reformer was born in 1819. Many of the columns of the arcades are monoliths of granite. The harmonium was on board H.M.S. *Invincible* at the Battle of the Falkland Islands, and was damaged by a shell.

the woodcarving of the period. The lower panels of the screen are filled with painted representations of saints.

There is in the church a relic of the fatal European war of great and melancholy interest—it is the humble little harmonium of H.M. Battle Cruiser *Invincible*, which was splintered by an exploding shell at the Battle of the Falkland Islands, where the *Invincible* flew the flag of Sir Doveton Sturdee. It was the *Invincible's* last victory, for in the following year she met her end at the Battle of Jutland—blown up and sunk almost in the flash of an eye, with the loss of all her crew except six men.

In the north transept is a memorial window to Kingsley. Its principal interest lies naturally in the great man whom it commemorates, though it is a very fair production of modern stained glass workers. The subjects—the Nativity, the Adoration and the Wise Men—are not particularly appropriate to such a militant Christian and patriot as Charles Kingsley—I should have suggested David and Goliath, or Samson slaying the Philistines. Subjects such as these would have been better emblematic of the essentially combatant spirit of the man who composed such an epic of patriotism and national religion as *Westward Ho!* and conceived the character of Salvation Yeo. The peaceful religious scenes seem still less appropriate in the presence of Kingsley's motto, "Be Strong," which appears in the window.

Tavistock Church and Abbey

For the tourist, Tavistock is the western portal of wildly romantic Dartmoor; for the historian, its salient interest is that it was the birthplace of Francis Drake, of the great lawyer Maynard, and of some other distinguished figures in the world both of law and literature. For the purpose of this book its once famous abbey and its fine church are the subjects of consequence. Drake can only be mentioned in so far as he had an indirect connection with the extinct monastery: the other great men who were born there and the great man, perhaps the greatest of all—John Pym—who represented Tavistock in the epoch-making Long Parliament, must be left to be dealt with elsewhere.

There is no documentary evidence to the existence of Tavistock before the foundation of the monastery by Ordgar, Ealdorman of Devon, in 961; but there must have been a settlement here long before. There is rather abundant evidence of Roman influence in this remote corner of Britannia in the form of three late Romano-British inscriptions, all found in the neighbourhood of Buckland Monachorum, which is only a few miles distant. Two are in Latin; the third is especially interesting, being in both Latin and Ogham characters—the rude Celtic script, of which one specimen was found at Silchester, giving rise to sundry interesting theories. All three inscriptions are probably late, and with one exception the names are not Roman but Celtic with Latin terminations. The exception, however, is remarkable, for it is the early

and not very usual cognomen Sabinus. The stones have somewhat of the appearance of funeral monuments, but are entirely lacking in Christian emblems. Such as they are, they point to some kind of Roman cultural influence in the district of Tavistock.

The abbey was founded in 961 by Ordgar, an English noble who was probably Ealdorman (not Earl) of Devon and Cornwall under King Eadgar the Peaceful. He is best known as the father of Eadgar's second wife, Ælfthryth—"Elfrida" of evil memory, mother of the "redeless" king Æthelred II. and the murderess of her step-son, Edward II., the Martyr. The monastery was not dedicated until 981, by Ordgar's son Ordwulf, and only sixteen years later it was sacked by the Danes. It was, however, re-established, quite possibly by the Danish King Cnut, who is known to have taken pleasure in restoring foundations ruined by his piratical father and his associates. The abbot in Cnut's reign was Lyfing, a notable figure in the history of the times. He accompanied Cnut on his famous "pilgrimage" to Rome in 1026, and six years later was appointed Bishop of Crediton. Shortly afterwards the Cornish see of St. Germans was united to Crediton, so that Lyfing exercised ecclesiastical authority over the whole of the two western counties. He took a foremost share in the elevation to the throne of Edward the Confessor.

Another notable abbot was Ealdred, who afterwards became Archbishop of York and crowned William the Norman in Westminster Abbey. No special ill-fortune seems to have befallen Tavistock Abbey for five hundred years after its restoration. It was very

rich, and its buildings increased steadily in magnificence until they had no rival in the West. Abbot Robert of Champeaux, who ruled the monastery for more than forty years, rebuilt much of it, including the church, which was dedicated in 1318 by Bishop Walter de Stapeldon, as well as the new parish church of St. Eustachius. Evidently Tavistock was now a considerable place. The highest eminence of the monastery was reached shortly before its fall; for in 1513 its energetic abbot Richard Banham was granted the mitre by Henry VIII. and also created Baron of Hurdwick, thus attaining a rank approximating to that of the great abbots of St. Albans and Glastonbury. Its wealth is proved by the fact that at the Dissolution the last abbot, John Peryn (1523–39), was granted the handsome retiring pension of £100 per annum (about £900 to £1000 in values of 1913). Its yearly revenue was returned at £902—something like £9000 a year. The only monastic establishment in Devonshire which yielded a larger income was Plympton Priory.

The abbey was, of course, plundered at the Dissolution; and the usual vandalism was perpetrated among its buildings by the noble to whom it was donated by Henry VIII.—John, Lord Russell, afterwards first Earl of Bedford. The worst destruction befell the remains early in the XVIIIth century, when many of the surviving buildings were deliberately demolished in 1736 in order to erect Abbey House, the site of which is now occupied by the Bedford Hotel. The chapter-house, which at this time fell a victim to the spoiler, must have been one of the finest in the West. According to Prince, it had

thirty-six seats on the thickness of its circular wall, and its vault was a marvel of "curious hewn and wrought stone." Truly the archæologist has reason to curse the XVIIIth century.

The principal surviving fragment is the north

THE ABBEY GATEWAY, TAVISTOCK

gateway in Bedford Square, which is still in complete preservation and forms part of the public library. More picturesque is the ruined west gate in the garden of the vicarage. It has a fine Late Perpendicular archway flanked by two massive towers, more reminiscent of a fortress than a monastery, thickly

clothed with ivy. It has been suggested that the towers were used as places of confinement for criminals who had come under the abbot's jurisdiction. The southern one is called Betsy Grimbal's Tower, from a tradition that in it a woman of that name was murdered by a soldier. A section of the battlemented bounding wall of the abbey still extends along the bank of the Tavy, and in it is an ivy-clad tower, considered to have been the still-house. The Unitarian Chapel was once the refectory, and naturally retains little of its former appearance; the pulpit of the reader, whose business it was to edify the monks by appropriate reading during the meals, was still *in situ* in the XVIIIth century, but has long since vanished.

The refectory porch, behind the Bedford Hotel, is probably the most picturesque portion of the abbey buildings still remaining. It is surmounted by four graceful pinnacles, and the vaulted roof with its bosses and two armorial shields is perfect. On the south side of the parish church, opposite the Bedford Hotel, is the last surviving fragment of the cloister arcade built by Abbot de Champeaux. Of the splendid church, said to have been the finest in Devon after Exeter Cathedral, hardly a vestige remains, with the exception of the lower part of the tower, each side of which is pierced by an arch through which went a way from the abbey into the town. This is now incorporated in the parish church of St. Eustachius, which has superseded that of the abbey and is probably in great part built of its materials.

This stately Perpendicular edifice consists of a nave, chancel, a north aisle, two south aisles, and a tower

with battlements and pinnacles, 106 feet in height. The larger portion dates from the early xvith century, but the outer southern aisle was built in 1445 as the chapel of the Clothworkers' Guild, by Constantia Coffin, Robert Bonefas, and Maurice Bird. The woodwork of its barrel roof is elaborately carved. That of the later portions of the church is evidently a copy, but is neither so ornate nor so good.

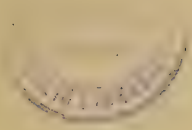
The interior, as a whole, is a very good example of Late Perpendicular. The arches are perhaps a little weak in outline, but the piers are stately and satisfying, without any trace of the exaggerated slenderness which is sometimes charged upon the Perpendicular style. The outline of the east window is excellent and the tracery satisfactory. The general effect is handsome and imposing: it is a good example of what the builders of the Late Perpendicular period could achieve in the matter of parish churches.

There are two interesting tombs. One is in the south aisle. It is that of Sir John Glanville (1542–1600), Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. He was the son of John Glanville of Tavistock, and is noteworthy as the first attorney recorded to have reached the Bench. He was at different times M.P. for Launceston, Tavistock and St. Germans. He was also interested in industrial ventures, especially tin-mining, and died a very wealthy man. He married Alice Skerret, by whom he had seven children, one of whom was Serjeant Sir John Glanville, who played a prominent part in the troubled history of the reign of Charles II., and, after much tribulation, survived to the Restoration. The tomb in Tavistock Church was erected to

the memory of the elder Sir John by his widow. Sir John is represented lying on a couch in his judge's robes, and below, kneeling on a cushion, is Lady Glanville. Beneath are five diminutive kneeling figures representing the children: originally there were seven, and those which remain have been badly mutilated. The last girl lacks the head, whence has grown up a legend that she committed murder and her unhappy father was forced to condemn to death his own daughter! Needless to say no foundation for the story has yet been discovered.

In the north aisle is the reputed tomb of Sir John Fitz of Fitzford, near Tavistock, who died in 1589, and his wife, Mary Sydenham, daughter of Sir John Sydenham of Brimpton in Somerset. The recumbent effigies lie beneath a canopy supported by classical columns. The man is in full knightly armour of the XVIth century, and his feet rest upon a lion, while those of the lady are supported upon a lamb—a quite unusual piece of what Carlyle would have called "friskiness." At the back is the figure of a boy kneeling at a desk upon which lies an opened book.

The church has in its possession what is probably part of the furniture of the ancient abbey in the shape of an oak cope-chest, the only example in Devon and Cornwall, with its lid admirably decorated with wrought iron. In it is preserved an early black-letter Bible with the chain which formerly fastened it to its public reading-stand.



THE GRENEWAY CHAPEL ON THE SOUTH SIDE OF TIVERTON CHURCH

It dates from about 1517 and its walls are enriched with sculptures of galleons, galleasses and galleys connected with the enterprises of the merchant prince, John Greneway, who built the chapel.

Tiverton

Tiverton, one of the most important of the towns of inland Devon, is also one of the most ancient. It is mentioned in the will of Alfred the Great under the name of Tuyford, and as it was royal property, it was probably part of the estates of the British kings of Damnonia. In *Domesday Book* it appears as a royal manor with two mills, so that it must have been a considerable settlement. During the Tudor epoch it grew into importance as a centre of the West-Country cloth trade. Risdon, writing about 1608, speaks of its prosperity, its many manufacturies and its streets thronged with merchants and master-clothmakers. Even as late as the reign of George III. it had fifty-six fulling mills. Soon afterwards its activities declined owing to the increasing competition of the cloth-making towns of Yorkshire, and by about 1820 its once famous industry was dead. But its prosperity was continued by lace-making, which still flourishes.

Tiverton's special manufacture was that of the cloth called Tiverton kersey. The greatest and most remarkable of its sons was the famous cloth-factor Peter Blundell, who, beginning in the very gutter, died in 1601 one of the wealthiest men in England. His benefactions during life are said to have exceeded £40,000, or about £300,000 in values of 1913. By bequests and directions left in his will was founded the famous school called by his name. Blundell was perhaps the greatest of the West-Country cloth magnates, and has left the deepest impress upon his native

town by the foundation of the Grammar School; but almost equal renown attaches to the name of John Greneway, a cloth merchant of an earlier generation (died 1529), who built and endowed the almshouses in Gold Street, and also the chapel called after him which forms part of the parish church. No one can accuse the English commercial magnates of the Tudor period of want of public spirit and active beneficence.

Blundell's munificence was not confined to his native town: he made large donations to charitable and other useful institutions at London, Exeter, and elsewhere. Among those who were educated at his school the most celebrated was probably R. D. Blackmore. His recollections of it crop up everywhere. Readers of *Lorna Doone* will remember that John Ridd attended it, though he begged the College of Heralds, for God's sake, to let him forget his Latin. One of the most charming episodes in a charming work is that in which Lorna reminds her lover, who is abashed at her new-found social eminence, that he is in truth a far more cultivated person than herself. But since this book is concerned with ecclesiastical buildings, it is necessary to turn to Tiverton's church and cease to indulge in reminiscences of stout Sir "Jan" and Lady Lorna, the captive fosterling of wild, haughty, embittered Ensor Doone.

Tiverton cannot, however, be passed without reference to its connection with the Courtenays, the great family whose members, for some three centuries, were almost kings in Devonshire, and whose principal residence was at Tiverton Castle. Several of the line were

buried in the church, but the tombs were destroyed during the troubles of the Civil War.

The splendid church of St. Peter, counted the finest ecclesiastical building in Devonshire after Exeter Cathedral, probably dates as a foundation from the Norman period or even earlier. A church was consecrated in 1073 by Bishop Leofric of Exeter, and it may very well have had a predecessor. The present imposing Late Perpendicular structure dates from the xvth century, but the south porch and the Greneway Chapel were added about 1517. The south porch was rebuilt in 1825, with careful regard to the exact reproduction of the earlier work, and the rest of the church, except the tower and the Greneway Chapel, was restored in 1853–55.

The exterior of the church is adorned with much remarkable and naïvely suggestive sculpture. Especially is this the case as regards the south porch. Over the door are the Courtenay arms, impaling those of the royal house, supported by St. George and St. Barbara, and underneath appears the legend: "In tyme and space, God send grace—John Greneway—to pray for me that the gate begune." The buttresses are elaborately decorated with sculptured ships, anchors, woolpacks, and other objects connected with the busy life of the munificent founder. The carvings of ships are most interesting: three different types are plainly represented—the sailing ship or galleon; the galleass, built both for sailing and rowing; and the rowing galley. The interior of the porch is no less richly ornamented, the decorations including figures of the founder and his wife in prayer.

The interior is not lacking in the choir screen so characteristic of Devonian churches: this of Tiverton is a magnificent example of early xvith-century woodcarving, likewise the donation of Greneway. The pulpit is not remarkable, except that it is ornamented with the armorial bearings of great Devonian families. On the south side, separated from the south aisle by a half-screen, is the chantry chapel of Greneway, built 1517. Its ceiling is a fine specimen of contemporary sculpture and on the floor is the brass of this public-spirited citizen and his wife. In the chancel are buried two more of the merchant lords—"merchants living nobly," as they would have been described in France—of Tiverton. These are John Waldron, who died in 1579, and George Stee, who lived until 1613. Both of them were liberal benefactors of the town, especially as regards the provision of almshouses. It is a pity that Peter Blundell does not rest in the splendid church with the other merchant princes of Tiverton. There are in the interior two paintings which deserve some notice. One is an original work, the "St. Peter in Prison" of Richard Cosway (1740–1821), who was a native of the place and presented the picture to the church as an appropriate altarpiece. Modern taste has deposed it from that position, and it now occupies a place above a door on the south side. The other picture is a copy of the "Magi" of Rubens.

The building, as a whole, is a very fine example of an English parish church: large, imposing—as large structures often are not—possessing many details of interest, and noteworthy on account of its associations with the once great West of England cloth industry.

The external decorations are the most interesting from this point of view, no less than by reason of their intrinsic merit, and give to St. Peter's at Tiverton a richness of exterior which is only surpassed in the West by St. Mary Magdalene's at Launceston.

CHAPTER VI

CHURCHES AND ABBEYS OF NORTHERN CORNWALL

St. Germans, the ancient Cathedral City—Callington—Liskeard—Bodmin—Launceston

St. Germans—once a Cathedral City

St. Germans, the ancient seat of the Bishopric of Cornwall, possesses a worthy monument of the past in the remains of the once grand Norman church of St. Germans. There is so little Romanesque architecture in Cornwall that it is peculiarly interesting. As it originally stood it was evidently a Late Norman building dating from the early XIIth century, but it has been much restored, and the entire chancel and part of the nave collapsed in 1592. What is yet more to be deplored, the north aisle was demolished about 1795. From the description given in the parochial history of Cornwall, this aisle was of very ancient architecture—quite possibly a part of the cathedral of the bishops of St. Germans.

The finest portion remaining of the XIIth-century church is the west front, a Late Norman façade with a porch covering a superb recessed doorway with seven arch mouldings of varied design—a Norman

portal unsurpassed for beauty throughout England. Above the porch are three Norman lancets, that in the centre being the tallest; and in the gable is a tiny slit. This simple but graceful front is flanked by two towers. The two lower stages are Norman: the northern

THE ANCIENT CATHEDRAL OF CORNWALL
The Norman west front of St. Germans.

tower has a Perpendicular upper story, while that on the south is disfigured by the superposition of an Early English octagonal battlemented addition, utterly out of harmony with the character of the front. Both towers, it may be added, open into the church by means of Early English arches cut in their lower stages, a device similar to that already noted at Exeter.

In the interior there yet remain on the south side

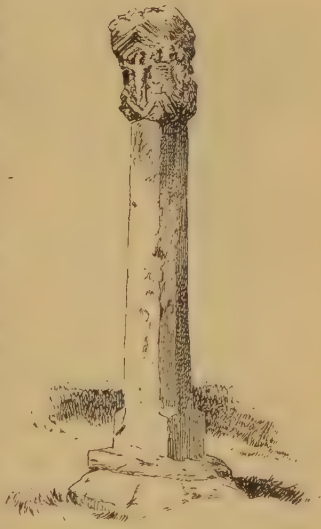
of the nave two Norman bays: the massive piers have square "draped" capitals. The other arcades of the nave, and the south aisle as a whole, are Early English, dating from 1261, while the splendid east window is Perpendicular. The monuments are not of special interest, though those of members of the Eliot family will be noted on account of the fame in constitutional history of Sir John Eliot (1590–1632), the first martyr for English liberty. Sir John died in prison in the Tower, probably deliberately killed by privation. The petty malice of Charles I. would not even allow his emaciated body to be buried at St. Germans.

The font is Norman, of the bowl-and-pedestal type, with subsidiary supports, but not remarkable for sculptured magnificence, like those at Bodmin, Lostwithiel and Launceston. More noteworthy in this respect is the ancient miserere carving, representing a hunter carrying a hare across his shoulder on a stick, and attended by coupled hounds. For its ancient renown and present architectural interest there are few churches in the West more deserving of a visit than the ancient fane dedicated to the warrior-bishop of Auxerre, the defender of orthodox religion against Pelagian heresy, and of Roman civilisation against Germanic barbarism.

Callington

Callington is the first place of any size or importance reached in Cornwall by the traveller who comes from Tavistock by road. It is picturesquely situated at a height of over 500 feet, but dominated for another

600 feet by the granitic Kit Hill, the culminating point of Hingston Down. It was on this upland that King Ecgberht gained his last victory, in the year before his death, over an allied horde of Vikings and revolted Cornishmen. Callington is also one of the claimants for the honour of having been the birthplace and abode of King Arthur—a claim which may be disregarded, for there is no evidence whatsoever that the great Romano-British military leader was born in Cornwall, and all the probabilities are heavily against the theory. The town is commonplace enough; but the church is worthy of more than a passing notice.



Cross in the Churchyard at Callington

It is a fine Perpendicular edifice built in its present form by Sir Nicholas Assheton in 1465. It has a nave, flanked by a single aisle on one side and a double one on the other, with an imposing western tower, the final stage of which projects in a peculiar manner over the corner buttresses. The font is of Norman type, transferred, no doubt, from the earlier church. It is almost a duplicate of that in St. Thomas's, Launceston. The

bowl has octofoils on each side, with sculptured heads at the corners. In the chancel is the fine brass, bearing the date 1468, of the founder, Sir Nicholas Assheton, and his wife. He was a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and is represented wearing a judge's hood and a long fur-trimmed robe.

THE NORMAN FONT IN CALLINGTON CHURCH

On the north side is perhaps the finest monument in Cornwall—the tomb of Sir Robert Willoughby, first Baron Willoughby de Broke, one of the fourteen nobles who accompanied Henry Tudor on the expedition in 1485 which made him King of England. His services were munificently rewarded by Henry, whom he continued to serve in war and peace until 1502, when he died. His connection with this little Cornish town is explained by the fact that his wife was Blanche Champernowne, daughter of Sir John Champernowne of Beer Ferrers and Callington. His monument is an elaborately decorated table-tomb, with the effigy of the earl in full armour but bareheaded, as was then the custom for figures of this kind, and wearing the collar, badge and cloak of the Order of the Garter. One detail is absolutely original: on the soles of the feet are the figures of monks telling their beads. Lord

JUDGE GLANVILLE'S TOMB IN TAVISTOCK CHURCH

In Old St. Paul's the tomb of Sir Thomas Heneage had in front of it a similar kneeling figure. So lifelike is the appearance of Lady Glanville that in the dim light of the south aisle it often suggests a living person (*page* 123).

Willoughby, it may be said, was made a Knight of the Garter about 1493. His last great public service was the crushing of Perkin Warbeck's rebellion in the West in 1497.

In the churchyard is a remarkable cross; the shaft is chamfered and the upper part much mutilated, but on one side a representation of the Crucifixion can still be distinguished.

Liskeard

Liskeard, a small but busy town, possesses the largest church in Cornwall excepting St. Petroc's at Bodmin. Like most of the town churches in the West Country, it is a Perpendicular building, but the architecture is of a rather late and poor type. It occupies the site of a much earlier church, some of it unquestionably dating from the xith–xiith centuries. Fragments of this edifice are incorporated in the present building, notably a Norman arch which has been worked into the restored tower; there is also a rebuilt Early English arch. The church was heavily restored in 1878, 1888 and 1897; and in 1903 the tower was completed to its present height of one hundred feet. The choir screen is by Hems, and is a good example of modern woodcarving. The roof also is for the most part a restoration with some of the earlier timber worked into it.

On the whole the restorers are to be congratulated: there seems to have been no unnecessary destruction, and Liskeard Church now presents, both internally and externally, an aspect decidedly impressive.

In the south chancel chapel is an Early English piscina preserved from the mediæval church, and on the north side of the lowest stage of the tower are three semicircular recesses the object of which is unknown, but which are said to be "lepers' windows." In the north porch is a remarkable basin in the thickness of

Restored Holy-Water Recess in the North Porch of Liskeard Church

the wall, beneath a pointed niche. It has been partially restored and gives the impression of having been part of a font. Apart from these relics, the chief interest of the interior lies in the memorial tablet to Joseph Wadham, the last descendant of the founder of Wadham College at Oxford. Joseph Wadham maintained the traditions of his family by founding a school in Liskeard. He died in 1707.

The pulpit is worthy of examination. It is a quaint

and elaborate example of sculpture in oak, the carving of which has something of the appearance of arabesque work. It was executed by a local craftsman, one John Short, and bears the date 1636.

In the tower hang eight bells, five of them dating from 1755, one from 1819, and two from 1900—one as a thankoffering for the relief of Ladysmith, one for the relief of Mafeking. The tenor weighs twenty-nine hundredweight, and the whole peal is considered now to be one of the finest in Devon and Cornwall.

Bodmin

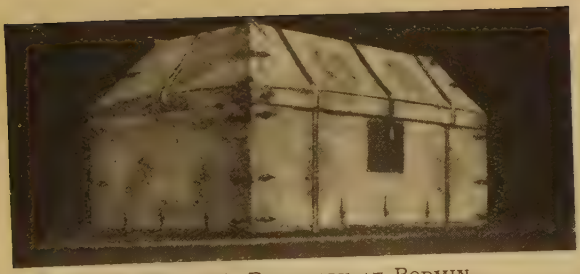
The county town of Cornwall appropriately possesses the largest and not the least beautiful parish church in the westernmost province of England. It is dedicated to the very obscure Welsh saint Petroc or Pedrog, whose cult spreads over Wales, Cornwall, Devon, and Brittany where he is called St. Perreux. The very scanty information available concerning him seems to indicate that he was the son of a Damnonian prince named Clemens, but one MS. makes him a Welshman from Glamorgan. In any case his cult is widely diffused.

Somewhere about 500, if the legend may be trusted, a hermit named Guron settled at Bodmin, and thus gave sanctity to the place: and, about 542, Petroc took up his abode there and founded a monastery on lands donated by Constantinus II., King of Damnonia. The foundation was known to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood as Bos-manach, the monk's house—hence Bodmin. The body of St. Petroc lay in a chapel which was in later years connected with the

church. In 926 King Æthelstan refounded the (probably) declining establishment as a Benedictine priory: at the same time he also founded his abbey of St. Peter at Exeter and gave to it some of the relics of St. Petroc. Æthelstan's foundation went through the usual vicissitudes of those troubled days and was eventually, about 1120, finally reconstituted as an Augustinian priory by Bishop William de Warelwast. Thus it endured until the Dissolution, when it was returned as having a clear income of £270 per annum —say £2700 in values of 1913. The last prior to die in possession of his ancient rights was Dr. Thomas Vivian, whose tomb is to-day in St. Petroc's Church

A curious and interesting episode in the history of the priory occurred in 1177. For some reason unknown a canon named Martin stole the relics of St. Petroc, and carried them off to the abbey of St. Mevennus in Brittany, whence they were only recovered by petition to King Henry II. and pressure put upon the Breton monks by the royal justiciar of Brittany, Roland de Dinant. The relics were brought back to Bodmin in triumph by Prior Roger, enclosed in an ivory casket—quite probably the very one which is to this day preserved at Bodmin.

St. Petroc's Church, as it now stands, was largely built about 1467–72; but the northern chancel aisle and the tower are evidently earlier, probably of the XIIth century, and therefore the remains of the original church of the priory of William de Warelwast. The pulpit lectern and reading-desk are admirable examples of xvth-century woodcarving executed by Mathy More, a local woodcarver and joiner.



ST. PETROC'S RELIQUARY AT BODMIN
It is of ivory and is decorated with painted medallions and birds, and appears to be of Oriental origin.

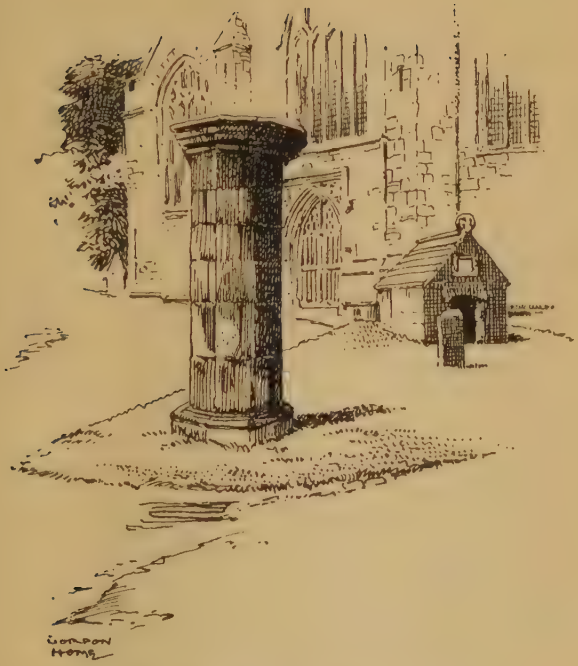
THE NORMAN FONT AT BODMIN
One of the finest of its type in England.

The interior possesses two notable monuments of the past. The first, by far the most venerable and remarkable, is the font, a magnificent example of English Romanesque at its apogee—the days when William of Warelwast was building churches and priories in Devon and Cornwall. In general design it is of the common Norman bowl-and-column type, with four supporting shafts; but here the corner columns are so placed that the font seems almost to be suspended from them. The capitals are formed by quaint winged heads, evidently intended to convey the impression of cherubim, while the whole exterior surface of the basin is covered with elaborate and fanciful sculpture in high relief of intertwined foliations and heraldic monsters. It is impossible not to admire the design and the general effect of this really remarkable work of mediæval art, in every respect one of the finest of its class in England.

The other notable monument is the tomb of Prior Thomas Vivian. It is a fine altar-tomb, its panels filled with sculptured shields of arms and with symbolical representations of the four evangelists. At the corners are the remains of four angels bearing the Vivian escutcheon. The prior's effigy is in full canonicals as a bishop of the Church, Vivian being titular Bishop of Megara in Greece. It has an additional interest in that it was one of the last, perhaps the very last, of the tombs of great monastic dignitaries to be erected in England. Before Bishop Thomas had been five years in the grave Bodmin Priory was no more, though it was into the possession of his own family that its property and revenues fell.

The famous casket in which it is believed that the relics of St. Petroc were brought back from Brittany by Prior Roger is preserved, not in the church, but in the strong-room at the local bank. It was found in 1830 in the parvise above the porch of St. Petroc's, hidden beneath the floor, and in view of the manner of its concealment there is a very strong possibility that it is the actual "ivory shell" mentioned in the contemporary records of the episode. In any case it is an object of great antiquarian interest, there being very few of its class in existence.

It is a box about two feet long and one foot broad, constructed of thin ivory plates carefully pegged together, with a hipped-roof lid. The hinges and fittings are of brass. The decorations consist of medallions and figures of birds painted upon the ivory. In front there are four large medallions, two upon the box itself, two on the front slope of the lid. At either end are four birds similarly disposed. On the rear face of the lid is a medallion flanked by birds, with, on the box, a floriate design also supported by birds. The feeling of the decoration is decidedly Oriental; and Professor Salmas of Palermo Museum considers that these caskets were probably manufactured in Northern Africa or Syria, and brought to Europe by pilgrims to the Holy Land. This theory seems to be the most probable. After careful inspection and consideration I hesitated long between the theory of Byzantine origin or manufacture in the Mohammedan East. The lack of any distinctively Christian emblems in the decoration is not very decisive; because the inhabitants of the East Roman Empire were somewhat latitudi-



THE WEST END OF BODMIN CHURCH

Showing the holy well of St. Petroc and an isolated column of the Priory buildings.

narian and tolerant, besides being keen traders, quite content to turn an honest penny out of Mohammedan customers if possible. At the same time the style of the paintings is rather Mauresque or Arabesque than Byzantine.

It is upon the whole most probable that the casket was manufactured in the East or perhaps in Sicily, despite Professor Salmas's doubts as to the latter circumstance. It may be that it was presented to Prior Roger by Henry II., who may in his turn have acquired it from his son-in-law, William the Good, King of Naples and Sicily. No more can be said upon the question of origin: what is beyond doubt is that in the casket of St. Petroc the little Cornish town of Bodmin possesses a rare and valuable relic of its ecclesiastical past.

Eastward of the church is a remnant of the priory in the form of the chantry chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury. It is a roofless shell, but must originally have been a graceful Early English building. One window of remarkably pure outline still retains its tracery. Lastly, near the main doorway is the holy well of St. Petroc. On the whole, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, wherever the official seat of the Bishop of Cornwall may be fixed, Bodmin is the true religious centre of the westernmost province of England.

The Priory and Churches of Launceston

Of all the towns of Cornwall, Launceston is probably the most beautifully situated and, as a place, the most agreeable. It is grouped most picturesquely around

the pyramidal rock still crowned by the ruins of its castle, once the citadel of northern Cornwall and Devonshire; its steep streets scramble down an almost precipitous slope to the valley up which the railway runs, and a suburb climbs the farther declivity. The prospect from the castle is far-extended and beautiful: the country around has a smiling aspect which is lacking farther west. The town itself is pleasant, clean and often picturesque, with a general appearance of peaceful prosperity. It is full of antiquarian interest; for not only does it possess a quite remarkable quantity of secular ruins—the castle, the south gate, and portions of a town wall—but also the remains of the Augustinian priory founded by William de Warelwast, the famous Bishop of Exeter, and three churches, none without interest, one quite unique.

The castle, the gate and the walls, great as is their fascination, can only receive bare mention in a book devoted solely to things ecclesiastical.

Launceston's ancient name was Dunheved, and the appellation clung to it down to the XVIIth century at least: Sir Hugh Piper, hereafter to be mentioned, was M.P. for "Dunhyved" in the reign of Charles II., but the castle was called by the later name of Launceston. During the reign of Edward the Confessor it was included in the Earldom of Wessex, first under that somewhat dubious figure in English history, Godwin, who was followed by his son Harold, the last English king of the old stock. By William the Conqueror it was given to his half-brother, Robert of Mortain. Despite the great strength of its castle it has played no very striking part in history. During the

great Civil War it changed hands more than once as the tide of success ebbed and flowed. For some time its governor was Sir Richard Grenvile, a very unworthy descendant of his ancestor of the *Revenge*. It surrendered to Sir Thomas Fairfax in 1646, at the general collapse of the Royalist arms in that year. The heir to the throne of Britain is Viscount of Launceston as well as Duke of Cornwall.

The Augustinian priory was situated outside the walls of the town in the smiling valley of the little River Kensey, beneath the towering Castle Hill. It was founded in 1126 by Bishop William de Warelwast, the impress of whose energetic hand is found in many other parts of Devon beside the capital. The bishop evidently had a rooted objection to monks of the regular rule; for all his foundations were designed for Augustinian canons. That of Launceston was dedicated to St. Stephen the Protomartyr. It grew and prospered exceedingly, and at the Dissolution of 1536–39 it was counted the wealthiest monastic establishment in Cornwall. Great it was, and great was the fall thereof. It was literally levelled with the ground, scarcely one stone was left upon another: in the end the very site was forgotten, and not discovered until 1893.

In that year excavations were commenced by the Launceston Scientific and Historical Society under the direction of Mr. O. B. Peter, F.R.I.B.A. They were carried out with science and method, with the result that the ground-plan was almost completely determined, and a great number of relics of antiquarian and artistic interest unearthed. The plan of

the church is of especial interest, for it possessed a transeptal tower, showing that the same brain which conceived the unique design of Exeter Cathedral was also concerned in that of St. Stephen's Priory. The architectural remains tend to prove that great part of the church was built by William de Warelwast. Not only this, but the east end is curiously like that of Exeter—a Lady Chapel with flanking shrines. The church possessed only a single aisle; this was on the north side, and it was walled off from the nave—a most unusual feature. Great numbers of sculptured fragments were recovered during the excavations, as well as many encaustic tiles of considerable beauty and interest. Most of these are collected in a field near the ruins. In its prime the priory must have been one of the most imposing ecclesiastic buildings in the West of England: the church was at least 233 feet long—perhaps more, as it is thought that it possessed a western tower.

One of the doorways of the priory was preserved from destruction and re-erected as the entrance of the White Hart Hotel. It is a beautiful and highly elaborated Late Norman archway, as fine as anything of its type in England.

The Church of St. Stephen the Protomartyr claims attention first, as it is in all probability the most ancient foundation in the town. Mr. O. Peter considers it to stand upon the site of the college of secular canons which existed here in the pre-Norman period. It was dissolved by William de Warelwast to make way for his new priory in the valley, and doubtless its endowments were merged in those of the latter.

As it stands the church is certainly the most ancient in Launceston, its walls being for the most part of the XIVth century, though it has been considerably restored. The Late Perpendicular tower, built about 1530, is the most noteworthy feature of the edifice: it is lofty and admirably proportioned, and rises imposingly from the brow of the northern hill looking across to the castle. At the east end are two crudely sculptured stones built into the external walls. They are unquestionably of considerable antiquity, and may be remnants of the pre-Norman church.

The interior calls for little comment, having been considerably restored, and presenting but slight traces of antiquity. The font, however, deserves a word of notice: it is of the Norman bowl-and-pedestal type, but of finer outline, and the foliated band of carving at the base of the bowl indicates the near approach of the Early English school of art. It evidently dates from the time of the XIIIth-century church, which was erected upon the site of the pre-Norman college.

THE CHURCH OF ST. THOMAS THE APOSTLE stands in the valley of the Kensey, near the remains of the priory. The present building dates from the last quarter of the XVth century, but occupies the site of an older edifice, as the presence of a Norman font and various sculptured stones of the Norman period conclusively prove. It is not in itself especially interesting or imposing, and has been somewhat heavily restored, but the Norman font is among the finest of its type in the West Country. It is a bowl carried upon a hexagonal supporting block, which stands upon a circular sculptured and moulded pedestal of

considerable artistic merit, though, it may be, a little heavy in its lines. The basin is decorated with four bearded faces in relief, alternating with four sixfeuilles encircled by two-headed serpents. This type of font seems to have been a favourite in the West. That in St. Thomas's is by no means the only one.

The Church of St. Mary Magdalene, one of the finest in the West Country, and in one respect the most remarkable of all, stands a little distance to the south-east of the castle at the intersection of four (or five) of the narrow streets of the town. It consists of two distinct portions, a xivth-century tower and a Late Perpendicular church, now connected by a modern vestry. Tower and church are not in the same alignment, the former facing nearly north-north-west while the centre-line of the church is from north-west to south-east.

The tower originally formed part of a small church or chapel, which was dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene in 1380. The arch which led from the tower to the nave now connects it with the vestry: the traces of the roof are to be seen on the wall. The tower itself calls for no special notice; it is massive and not undignified, with its battlemented parapet, buttresses, and corner turret, but scarcely beautiful, and out of keeping with the fairy-like production of artistic fancy with which it is incongruously linked.

The church itself was built between 1511 and 1524 by Sir Henry Trecarrell of Trecarrell, one of the three manorial lords of Lezant, south of Launceston. He was a wealthy and enterprising man and held office for the Crown, besides fulfilling duties more nearly

THE UNIQUE CHURCH OF ST. MARY MAGDALENE AT LAUNCESTON

The whole of the exterior of this remarkable building is covered with sculpture similar to that shown surrounding this doorway. There is no church or building to compare with it in Great Britain—or possibly in Europe.

connected with the duchy and the town of Launceston. His hobby, as with many gentlemen in that age of peace and rapidly increasing wealth, was building, and naturally his attention was directed chiefly to the restoration and reconstruction of his family seat. By 1510 he had completed a fine Great Hall at Trecarrell and also a chapel for the family's devotions, both of which edifices still exist. Quantities of materials were being collected for further buildings when his ambitions and hopes were destroyed by the death of his only son. Now that the much-loved child, for whom he was planning and building, was no more, Trecarrell lost interest in the work, and in an access of piety turned his attention to sacred edifices. As the mayor and council of "Downehevede" (*i.e.* Launceston) were already contemplating the replacement of the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene by a church worthy of the town, the grief-stricken Trecarrell came readily forward to take the principal share in the work, which was commenced in 1511.

The general plan adopted was quite an ordinary one—a nave and aisles, but the entire exterior was covered with sculptured designs hewn with the pick in the unyielding granite. The result is that St. Mary Magdalene at Launceston presents an external appearance without parallel in the length and breadth of England. It was dedicated in June 1524 by Dr. Vivian, Prior of Bodmin (1516–33), acting as coadjutor for Bishop Veysey of Exeter, who, as he said in his commission to Vivian on 18th June, was unable personally to attend by reason of the multitude of his other affairs.

The church is externally a simple oblong of 112 feet

by 59 feet, with a porch at the south-west angle surmounted by a parvise. There are seven Perpendicular windows of excellent outline on each side, and three at the south-eastern end. These last are flanked externally by independent buttresses, and the windows of the sides are separated also by buttresses of similar design. They are of two insets, the lower one being crowned by a highly decorated pinnacle—an idea more fantastic than pleasing. The same idea is seen in the corner buttresses of the porch.

Internally the building consists of a nave of eight bays, the arches springing from monolithic granite piers twelve feet in height, with north and south aisles. The fifth bay is wider than the rest, indicating that the designers intended to erect a choir screen at this point, but for some reason the plan was never carried into effect. The modern screens enclosing the vestry and part of the south aisle, as well as the pews, are modern, but are good of their kind and in excellent taste.

The pulpit is a fine example of xvth-century woodcarving. It presents six canopied niches, every one elaborated with infinite care and ingenuity: in spite of the gorgeous carving, each niche has an absolutely original character of its own. The timber roof is also an original part of Trecarrell's church, and has some quaint carved elaborations.

In the chancel is the highly elaborate and costly monument (1727) of two local worthies named Piper and Wise, who do not seem to have been very eminent as individuals, but certainly were much attached to one another. The epitaph is in Latin and celebrates

their good qualities at wearisome length. The monument itself is adorned by characteristic marble statues of various virtues. The curious will, doubtless, interest themselves in identifying them and deciphering the inscription—but here to do so is simple waste of space.

In that screened-off part of the north-east aisle which is used as a vestry is the monument of Sir Hugh Piper, a prominent figure in Cornwall during the troubled XVIIth century. He was born in 1611 and served from 1642 to 1646 in the Royalist army of the West, though apparently he had no special military predilections. He married Sibella Parr, the daughter of an Exeter gentleman, and their son Philip was born in the midst of the Civil War. Immediately afterwards came the Royalist collapse, and Piper's estates were sequestrated; but at the Restoration he was knighted and made lieutenant-governor of the citadel of Plymouth, captain of Exeter Castle, and constable of Launceston Castle. The stout old knight died in the reign of James II., so did not live to see the fall of the Stuarts. His son Philip predeceased his father, dying in 1677 at the age of thirty-two. He was constable of the castle of Launceston, probably as deputy for Sir Hugh. The monument has the effigies of the knight in armour, and Lady Piper in silk and velvet, as in the days of their returned prosperity—those "Golden days of Good King Charles," when every Royalist might do well-nigh as he listed.

The wealth of carving on the exterior of the building gives it, especially at a short distance, an appearance which is elsewhere unparalleled. In the whole church, except in a few places on the south-east, north-east and

north-west sides, there is scarcely one unelaborated stone. The work has evidently for the most part been executed with the pick on the hard red granite, so that fine finish is not to be found; but even so the care which has been employed is astonishing. A detailed description of the subjects would require an entire chapter of this book, but one or two of the most prominent must be mentioned.

On the frontage of the porch, between the windows of the parvise, is a canopied niche with a statue (modern) of the church's tutelary saint, beneath which are the arms of Trecarrell quartered with those of Kelway, and the date 1511 (MCCCCCXI). Sir Henry's wife, it is to be observed, was a Kelway. On one side is a relief of St. George slaying the dragon: on the other, one depicting St. Martin dividing his cloak with the beggar. On the right hand of the parvise windows is a windmill, and beneath this a donkey is shown carrying a sack of flour. On the left a beggar sits beneath the door of a house, waiting for the food which is on its way to him on the donkey's back.

At the eastern end, in the centre, is represented what may best be called the apotheosis of St. Mary Magdalene. She lies with flowing hair, and head resting upon her right hand, on a couch, while with her left hand she keeps open the Bible. Beside her is the vase of ointment, and on each side are twelve figures of musicians, four on the same tier as the central group, eight in pairs above, on either side of the central windows.

The remaining mass of sculpture consists of armorial shields—royal, civic, and baronial—flowers, especi-

ally the nard, with which the Magdalene's gift was perfumed—and conventional trees, always arranged in regular rows corresponding to the building tiers. Closely examined, there is no doubt an impression of monotony: but this is lost in the extraordinary lace-like appearance given to the entire church by the sculpturing of almost every stone. In this respect the Church of St. Mary Magdalene, Launceston is unique.

CHAPTER VII

TRURO CATHEDRAL—LOSTWITHIEL—ST. BURYAN'S—ST. MICHAEL'S MOUNT

Truro Cathedral

The westernmost cathedral city of England has for long claimed to be the real metropolis of Cornwall. There is a certain amount of reason for believing that there was a settlement here in prehistoric times, for an ingot of tin of the astragalus or knuckle-bone shape described by Diodorus Siculus has been found in Falmouth Harbour, and as tin-smelting is still carried on in the neighbourhood, Truro may well have been a very ancient centre of that Cornish industry. At the same time there is no definitive mention of its existence until the XIth century. It appears in *Domesday Book* as one of the 248 manors in Cornwall which were held in fief by William the Conqueror's half-brother, Robert of Mortain. Not very much which is good is known of Count Robert, who, like his full-brother Odo of Bayeux, seems to have possessed more of the Conqueror's notorious vices than his virtues.

Truro became a borough in the reign of Henry II., and in 1304 was created one of the mintage places

for tin: but its history was by no means one of unbroken prosperity, and there are frequent complaints of poverty and distress. It seems, however, to have retained a considerable amount of local importance, and in the year after the Armada was granted various concessions relating to the holding of fairs and other privileges by Elizabeth. In one respect it certainly holds the pre-eminence among the towns of the duchy, for it has been the birthplace of several men distinguished throughout the whole kingdom by reason of their talents or their virtues. Samuel Foote (1720–77), the famous comedian, was born at Truro, so also was Richard Polwhele (1760–1838), the historian of Devon and Cornwall. Two of the pioneers of African exploration, the brothers Lander—Richard (1804–34) and John (1807–39)—were natives of the place. Richard was the guiding spirit of the pair, and his travels in Western Africa showed the way to later explorers. He was only thirty when a musket-ball ended his brief and promising career on the banks of he Niger. Henry Bone, R.A. (1755–1834), the famous miniaturist, said to have been the greatest of English masters in this branch of mimetic art, was another of Truro's distinguished sons. The hero of the place is perhaps the young missionary, Henry Martyn, who was born at Truro in 1781 and died in Turkey thirty-one years later.

The special interest of Truro lies in its cathedral, for the reason that it constitutes the first real effort in modern England to build a great church in the spirit of the master craftsmen of the Middle Ages. When, in 1876, owing to the growing population of

the two western shires, it was decided to reconstitute a diocese of Cornwall, Truro was selected as the new cathedral city.

Cornwall, it should be remembered, was anciently an independent episcopal province. In Romano-British days there may have been more than one bishopric, but under Æthelstan the country west of the Tamar was definitively organised as a diocese, and Conan, a Briton, was consecrated its bishop on 5th December, 936. The seat of the see was at St. Germans, a place named after the famous Gallo-Roman warrior-bishop who played so noble a part during the first half of the agitated vth century. He was twice in Britain, and on the first occasion, in 429, resumed for a while his former military profession in order to defeat an invasion of English and Picts.

In 1027, on the death of Bishop Bertwald, the see of Cornwall was united to that of Crediton; and in 1050 the seat of the double diocese was moved to Exeter. This amalgamation of the two dioceses into one was then a wise and natural step; for the western-most shires were thinly populated, and there was no real necessity for more than one spiritual chief. By the middle of the XIXth century, however, the great diocese of Exeter had become too populous to be conveniently administered from a single centre, and accordingly the ancient arrangements were restored.

Truro, when the ancient see of Cornwall was reconstituted, possessed a Perpendicular parish church of some size and not devoid of merit, but this was neither utilised nor enlarged, and only the south aisle was incorporated. Instead, a completely new cathedral

TRURO CATHEDRAL FROM THE EAST

It was designed by Mr. J. L. Pearson, R.A., and was built between 1880 and 1910, a period of thirty years. The style adopted was Early English.

was planned on an ambitious scale. The foundations were laid in 1880, and the great building was finally completed thirty years later by the addition of the long-planned western towers.

The original architect was John Loughborough Pearson, R.A. The skill which he displayed and the general merit of his design are not to be denied. But with all due regard to such important considerations, it appears to be matter of regret that he did not select the truly and characteristically English Perpendicular style as that of the new cathedral, especially since there was to be included in it the Perpendicular aisle of the parish church. The prejudice of many artists against Perpendicular Gothic seems to be insurmountable, although at its best it has given England monuments such as the great tower of Canterbury, which cannot be surpassed. Pearson preferred to adopt the Early English style, which is, after all, of French origin, and the result was that, with all his great talents and artistic skill, he produced a building which has little, either in character or spirit, in common with any of the twenty-four cathedrals which the mediæval master-builders have bequeathed to England. Truro Cathedral makes a very splendid figure in the West, and towers majestically above the houses of the little diocesan city—but in some way or another it seems to lack the spirit of England.

The foundations were laid in 1880: seven years later the choir and part of the nave were consecrated; but not until 1903 was the body of the church completed. The central tower was finished in 1904, and the last touch was added to the western towers in 1910.

Since the time of building was thus thirty years, it will be observed that the masons of the Middle Ages were not in reality so slow as they are sometimes fancied to have been. Salisbury Cathedral is almost twice as large as Truro, and it was completed in seventy years, the rate of progress being very little less. Of course in both cases there were circumstances which retarded the work: frequently it was at a standstill.

The cathedral stands nearly in the centre of the town. The site was chosen so that the ancient church of St. Mary might be incorporated, otherwise it seems open to considerable objection. There is no close, and the great building is pressed upon and encircled by secular structures devoid alike of interest and beauty. This is a common shortcoming of many French and some English cathedrals, and it is unfortunate that the builders of the new fane did not take thought of it. From a distance the general effect is very fine: the three spires are un-English in outline and feeling, but they form a splendid crown to an admirable effort of modern architecture, and the mass of the now completed edifice rises grandly above the roofs of the town.

The necessary preface to any description of St. Mary's Cathedral at Truro is that it is new, and therefore lacks historic interest. A lengthened account can be little more than a dry record of architectural details, which in this book it is not intended to give.

The West Front, before the completion of the spires, was good but unimpressive, although a quite conscientious copy of the west Early English models.

The flanking towers with their spires, however, redeem it from ineffectiveness, and as now completed it is probably equal in merit to those of some of our less distinguished mediæval cathedrals. A better view, from the artistic standpoint, may be obtained from New Bridge Street, and it is probable that from this direction the great church really appears at its best; the eastern end, with its admirably proportioned gable and rose window, surmounting the double range of tall Early English lancets, and flanked by spirelets which happily combine strength and grace of outline, forms an effective frontispiece, and the grouping behind it of chancel transepts and central spire-capped tower is extremely fine.

THE WESTERN TOWERS are perhaps the most successful features of the cathedral: they are thoroughly graceful in design and the crowning spires no less so. As much cannot be said of the culminating feature of the composition—the central tower with its spire. The lines of the tower itself are admirable, but the triple windows appear to me to impart a feeling of weakness: the spire looks too heavy for the structure on which it rests. It rises awkwardly from the platform and it is too short as compared with the tower. The south side is, I consider, spoiled as a composition by the intrusion of the independent campanile: one obtains an odd impression of two quite disjointed buildings—the triple-spired cathedral in the background, and a Perpendicular church with an Early English belfry close alongside—like a cruiser under the lee of a battleship.

The worst fault which the writer has to find with

Truro Cathedral is perhaps a mere ebullition of patriotic prejudice. It is really handsome, really stately: its components, with one exception, are harmonious; many of the details, considered as such, are beautiful, but—as Voltaire said of Frederick the Great—but—— The fact is that the great building is to me un-English in appearance and feeling. Even in details it is often not truly Early English in style, and as a whole it resembles no English cathedral in existence. In itself, I admit, this criticism counts for very little: but it gains weight with the consideration that Truro Cathedral was designed by an English architect for an English diocese.

When so much has been said justice must be done to the general impressiveness of the church, to the skill shown in adapting its plan to the limited area available, and to the unquestionably effective and excellent arrangement of the interior. The ground plan is irregular, partly owing to the limited space available, partly because the Perpendicular aisle of the former parish church of St. Mary has been incorporated to form an additional aisle to the choir. There are: a nave and choir, a complete and rather unusual north transept, and a shallower one on the south side with which is connected an octagonal baptistery, a western porch and a southern porch. Advantage was taken of the lie of the ground to form a spacious crypt which, so far as design is concerned, is perhaps the most satisfactory portion of the cathedral.

The nave consists of eight bays to the crossing of the transepts: the north transept is rather a deepening of the aisle. The loftiness of the interior is extremely

apparent, and the general effect is very fine and impressive. There is, on the whole, a pleasant freedom from the rawness inseparable from a new structure, owing to the mellow tints of the stone. The finest view in the church is perhaps from the north transept into the choir; the severe but graceful contour of the Early English arcades, the triforium with its delicate columns and enriched arches, the grouped piers, from which the severely simple vaulting springs, combine to form a picture which in some lights is as fine as anything in the Gothic churches of England.

All the accessories of a cathedral have been provided for Truro—bishop's throne, choir stalls and sedilia. The reredos is a magnificent and not unbeautiful work of sculpture in Bath stone, the subject being the Sacrifice of the Saviour. The east windows are filled with fine modern stained glass, depicting the life of Christ in the lower part and in the upper the Church triumphant.

Everywhere a conscientious effort has been made to connect the new cathedral with past associations. The baptistery, a true gem of modern Gothic art, is a memorial to Henry Martyn. The north transept is dedicated to the late Archbishop Benson, who was the first Bishop of Truro at the re-creation of the diocese in 1876. He presided over it for seven years before his promotion to the primacy. It is interesting to note that he was consecrated by Dr. Temple, Bishop of Exeter, who eventually succeeded him as Archbishop of Canterbury. The bishop's desk is adorned by statuettes of Archbishops Benson and Temple, and of Dr. Wilkinson, who succeeded

Benson as the second Bishop of Truro. There is good reason for the honour paid to Archbishop Temple, for he subscribed £800 a year from his own endowments towards the building of the new cathedral. Bishop Benson did not remain at Truro long enough to see any part of the church completed. It was his successor, Dr. Wilkinson, who consecrated the choir on 3rd November, 1887. It should be added that the magnificent altar plate and other fittings were provided by a subscription of the women of Cornwall which realised £16,000.

The organ was built by Willis at a cost of £2800, and is considered to be the finest in the south of England. Whatever its defects may be, Truro Cathedral is a very stately building, well adapted for its religious purpose and a noble example of what munificence and provincial enthusiasm can effect. To the antiquary the surviving portion of St. Mary's Parish Church, which forms an additional aisle, at a lower level, on the south side of the choir, is of more interest than the new cathedral. It dates from the commencement of the XVIth century, and, like some other West-Country churches, its exterior is richly ornamented. Though its preservation reflects honour upon the architects of the cathedral, its mere presence helps to emphasise, hardly to advantage, the conscious and somewhat lifeless archaism of the latter.

The fine Jacobean monument of John Robartes, formerly in St. Mary's Church, has been renovated and transferred to the northern transept of the cathedral. It has semi-recumbent effigies of Robartes and his wife, attended by figures of Death and Time.

In the crypt is another transferred monument of the date 1636, which is fascinating on account of the light which it throws upon the wild and adventurous life led in those days by so many Englishmen. If the inscription be true, it merely points the moral that truth is stranger than fiction. It tells how Owen Fitz-Pen, alias Phippen, a native of Dorsetshire, was captured by Algerine pirates and forced to serve as a galley-slave. But he succeeded in rousing the other slaves to revolt, fell on the crew, captured the vessel and took it into Carthagena, where he sold it for £6000, with which he came home to settle down as a gentleman in Cornwall. The writer is inclined to be sceptical regarding the truth of the story: it somewhat resembles the amazing and absolutely mendacious "yarn" spun in the reign of Elizabeth by a rascal named David Gwyn, in order to gloss over his misdoings when in Government service. There is no doubt about the reality of Mr. FitzPen or Phippen or of the fortune which he brought home, but whether he acquired it in the romantic manner set forth in his epitaph may be questioned. That it was locally credited counts for nothing. Motley, a grave and learned historian, never doubted the truth of David Gwyn's story, though its absurdities are obvious.

Conscious archaism has been exercised to the full in the design of Truro Cathedral, which includes plans not only for a chapter-house but also for superfluous cloisters. Neither chapter-house nor cloister has as yet materialised. With this these necessarily brief observations must close. Truro Cathedral, in its

building and accessories, is a credit to all concerned; but at best it has an un-English aspect, and is not instinct with the spirit of the past.

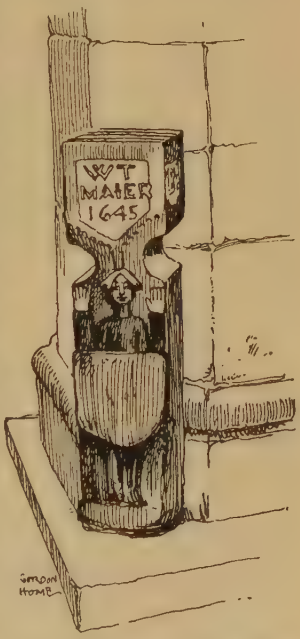
Lostwithiel Church

Lostwithiel is a not unpicturesque little Cornish town, diminutive in size, but fully equipped with the necessary buildings of a borough, and possessing a church which more than compensates for lack of architectural interest elsewhere. St. Bartholomew's Church is unquestionably one of the finest in Cornwall, and possesses a feature which differentiates it from most of its fellows in the form of a very fine spire, an unusual ornament among West-Country ecclesiastical buildings. The late Mr. G. E. Street went so far as to call this spire "the pre-eminent glory of Cornwall," and of its grace and beauty there cannot be two opinions. It is of the Decorated order of Gothic, rising from an octagonal lantern of the same period which crowns the heavily buttressed Early English tower. Each side of the lantern is capped by a gable, and the whole effect of the conception is one of extreme richness combined with beauty and grace, so that on the whole Street's eulogy does not seem unjustified.

Internally, the building is not remarkably interesting from the architectural point of view. The style is a rather unsatisfactory Early English, the piers merging without capitals into the arches. The east window is, however, good in outline and tracery: it

seems to be Decorated rather than Early English, and was probably remodelled in the XIVth century.

The most remarkable monument in the interior is the font, which is probably considerably earlier in date than the church, since its design is Norman. It is of the local Pentewan stone, and presumably of local workmanship; a very quaint and curious object of octagonal plan, supported upon a central clustered shaft and four smaller clustered supports. The sides of the octagon are sculptured with reliefs of crude and quaint design and execution: among them are the Crucifixion; two lions; and a knight on horseback equipped for the hunt with horn and hawk, attended by his hound.



XVIIth-Century Poor-Box in Lostwithiel Church

The poor-box is more than usually remarkable: it dates from 1645, when, doubtless, the necessity for relieving people beggared by the Civil War was terribly apparent: it is decorated with a curious carving of a man begging for alms with upraised hands, executed apparently by the man whose name it bears—W. T. Maier.

The church is full of monuments of local families —Kendalls, Fortescues, Hexts—but for the most part they are not of early date: the single object of outstanding interest is a brass, bearing date 1423, to Tristram Curteys, Esquire. It shows a figure in full armour of the period, with spurs on heels—which is worth noting, since there is a tendency to believe that only knights wore them. In the south wall of the porch are two sepulchral recesses, which are said to mark the tombs of Robert de Cardenham, Lord of Lostwithiel under Richard I., and his wife. In that case they are later than the entombments which took place round about the end of the XVIIth century.

On the west wall is a curious and rather ghastly coloured alabaster relief which represents the martyrdom, by flaying alive, of St. Bartholomew.

The church suffered in the Great Civil War, as Lostwithiel unfortunately found itself on the very fighting front of a desperate campaign. This was in August 1644, when the Parliamentary army under Essex was hemmed into the Fowey Peninsula by a great Royalist concentration. Its first line of defence ran through Lostwithiel, and there is no doubt that the church was badly mishandled by the rough and dispirited soldiers, though the details rest only upon the unsatisfactory evidence of the king's attendant Symonds. The Royalists outnumbered the Parliamentarians by over two to one, and the latter were very soon in a state of semi-starvation. In the end the cavalry burst through the king's lines, and made good their retreat to Plymouth; but the infantry, after a very gallant attempt to retreat to Fowey, were forced to surrender.

The people of Lostwithiel took their revenge upon the prisoners by ill-treating and insulting them—but the tables were to be turned again before long. Symonds gives a list of the surrendered regiments and, with characteristic contempt, remarks that there was hardly a single officer who looked like a gentleman. The last of the brave Devereux Earls of Essex did not show to advantage on this occasion; for he deserted his unhappy soldiers and escaped to Plymouth by sea. It was a blot upon his honour; for he should surely have remained with the men whom he had led to disaster and have taken his chance with them. This great Royalist victory was an encouraging counterbalance to Marston Moor—but, unlike Marston Moor, it had no results, for there was no one in high command on the Royalist side who was capable of utilising it. There are to-day no traces of the damage inflicted upon St. Bartholomew's Church in the campaign, but the memory of them is not forgotten. In any case Lostwithiel and its church are inextricably connected with the greatest victory gained by the Royalists during the whole course of the Civil War—a success in which 7000 men and 50 guns were taken would scarcely be considered slight even in these days of huge hosts and huge captures.

St. Buryan's

St. Buryan is said to be named after a somewhat shadowy Irish saint, supposed to be a king's daughter, who settled here as a nun in the VIth century. King

Æthelstan is stated to have founded at the place a college of Augustinian canons. There is no reason to doubt that the institution dated back to pre-Conquest times, for the "Canonici S. Berrione" are mentioned in *Domesday Book*. Edward II. granted permission to the dean and canons to hold a Saturday market, and a three days' fair once a year.

The present church is probably the third, perhaps the fourth, of those which have served the college. Its predecessor was dedicated in 1238, and some of its monuments and fittings survive; but in the main St. Buryan's, like nearly all the important churches in the West Country, is a Perpendicular edifice, dating from about 1490. There are a nave of five bays, two aisles, and a long chancel, the latter feature being due to the collegiate character of the church. On the north side of the chancel is a Norman arch. The font seems to be Early English from the second (or third) church: its basin is adorned externally with sculptured angels bearing shields. A terrible amount of damage has been wrought by repeated restorations: the ancient rood screen, for example, was half destroyed in 1814; and its beautiful carvings were appropriated by local inhabitants! However, some of its fragments were recovered and pieced together, and in 1915 the screen was completed by Belgian refugees. It would be ungracious to criticise their work. The remains of the ancient carving are most characteristic—boldly executed grotesques and demoniacal figures among elaborate foliation; animals and birds in conflict, and hunting scenes. The arms of Godolphin appear on part of the cornice.

The outstanding monument is the grave of Clarice de Bolleit, covered by a slab seven feet in length, decorated with a foliated cross in relief. The inscription may be transcribed, as it is in Norman French:

+ CLARICE : LA : FEMME : CHEFFREI : DE : BOLLEIT : GIT : ICI : DEU : DE : LEALME : EIT : MERCE : KE : PUR : LEALME : PUNT : DI : IOR : DE : PARDUN : AVERUND.

(Clarice, the wife of Geoffrey de Bolleit, lies here. On her soul may God have mercy. Whoso shall pray for her soul shall win ten days of pardon.)

In the churchyard is an ancient cross with a very short shaft raised on a stepped base.

St. Michael's Mount

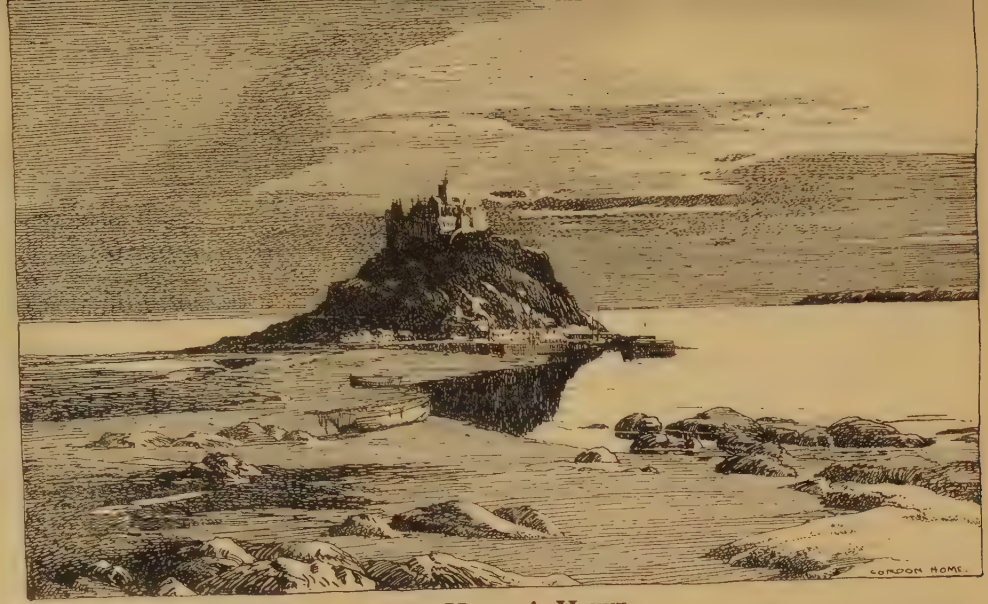
No account, however brief and incomplete, of the cathedral and chief churches of Cornwall can avoid mention of what was once one of its most famous monastic establishments — St. Michael's Mount in Mount's Bay, though it is no longer a priory and not readily accessible to visitors.

Of the early associations of this pyramidal rock in the midst of the blue waters of the bay something shall presently be said. As a Christian site its history is said to have begun with St. Keyne, who settled upon it about 490, but nothing definite is known concerning it until 1047, when Edward the Confessor, that inveterate "Normaniser," granted it to the famous abbey off the Norman coast, *Mons S. Michaelis in periculo maris*—Mont St. Michel. The fortunes of this priory are obscure, but it would seem that it was

always a very small foundation. It is extremely improbable that, during the Hundred Years' War between England and France, the mother monastery was able to exercise any great amount of supervision, much less to recruit its establishment of inmates. Bishop Brantynghame of Exeter says that in 1362 there were only the prior, John de Volant, and two monks living in the building: and it seems that William Lambert, appointed in 1412, was the last superior of the little community. Eventually the rock and its buildings became the property of the Bassetts, from whose hands they passed into those of the St. Aubyns.

A place of such natural strength could not fail to be swept into the vortex of war. In 1473 it was surprised by John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, the famous Lancastrian partisan, who held it for several months. In 1497 Perkin Warbeck seized it and placed there for safety his pretty Scots wife, Katharine Gordon, while he marched eastward to captivity and death. Fifty-two years later the rock was involved in the bloody fighting which ensued upon the great anti-Protestant revolt of the West against Protector Somerset. In the great Civil War it was a Royalist stronghold, and for some time in 1646 held out against a Parliamentary attack directed by Colonel Robert Hammond. It surrendered in April; the garrison retiring with the honour of war to the Scilly Islands. In the little castle-priory Hammond found thirty-three guns and five hundred muskets. Their exertions in the Royalist cause ruined the Bassetts, who then owned the Mount, so that in 1660 they sold it to Sir John St. Aubyn.

The ancient priory was in the XVIth–XVIIth



ST. MICHAEL'S MOUNT

The buildings on the summit include the remains of the Priory, a daughter-house of Mont St. Michel off the Normandy coast.

centuries largely replaced by residential buildings for the convenience of the Bassetts; and these have since been modernised, so that not very much of true antiquarian interest remains. The principal concern of this work is with the chapel, and even this was rebuilt in the xvth century. In the south side is a doorway communicating with a small vault which, when opened in 1903, was found to contain a skeleton. This was considered to be that of Sir John Arundell, who was killed in the attempt to recapture the Mount from John of Oxford.

The Chevy Chase Hall was formerly the refectory. It is thus inconsequentially named from the stuccoed cornice representative of hunting scenes. It has been much restored and modernised, and the roof is modern, so that although there are many objects in it which are of interest in themselves, there is very little to recall the monastic associations of this daughter of the more imposing Mont St. Michel *in periculo maris* off the Norman coast.

St. Michael's Mount seems always to have possessed more of a military than an ecclesiastical character: the charter of Edward the Confessor mentions the "Castella," and it is more than probable that this fortalice was only the successor of one dating back to prehistoric antiquity. There can be no reasonable doubt that the Mount was the Ictis mentioned by Poseidonius (about 135–51 B.C.) as the port to which the Cornishmen brought their ingots of tin to be sold to Greek and Gallic merchants and shipped to Corbilo at the mouth of the Loire, whence it went by caravan to Massilia. The Greek writer's description of Ictis,

an island at high water, a peninsula at low tide, clearly applies to St. Michael's Mount; and the manifold interest attaching to this castle-capped rock is intensified by the consideration that it was a place of world-wide importance before the days when Britain was Roman—a thousand years before it came to be known as England.

A Sketch-Map of Devon and Cornwall
Showing the positions of the places described in this book.

A CHRONOLOGY

OF THE

BISHOPS AND THE BUILDING

OF

EXETER CATHEDRAL

EFFIGY OF EDMUND DE STAFFORD
BISHOP OF EXETER
1394–1419

Bristol

A CHRONOLOGY OF EXETER CATHEDRAL

Romanesque English and First Norman School

DATE	BISHOPS AND BUILDING DATES	KINGS AND CURRENT EVENTS
1042		Edward (III.) "The Confessor"
1047	*Leofric* Monastic Church of St. Mary and St. Peter utilised as Cathedral	
1066		Harold II.
		William I., "The Conqueror"
1068	(First Siege of Exeter)	William takes Exeter
1073	*Osbern Fitz-Osbern*	
1086		Domesday Survey
		William II., "Rufus"
1087		Anselm of Aosta Archbishop of Canterbury
1093		
1100		Henry I.

Second Norman School, Enriched Romanesque

1104?	*William of Warelwast*	
1107?	Commencement of Second Cathedral	
1135		Stephen
1136	(Second Siege of Exeter)	Revolt of Redvers Stephen takes Exeter
1137	*Robert of Chichester*	Civil War Battle of the Standards
1138		
1154		Henry II.
1155	*Robert of Warelwast* Completion of Second Cathedral	
1161	*Bartholomew of Bretagne*	

Transitional Period, Romanesque to Gothic

DATE	BISHOPS AND BUILDING DATES	KINGS AND CURRENT EVENTS
1162		Thomas à Becket Archbishop of Canterbury
1166		Assize of Clarendon
1170		Murder of Becket
1186	*John the Chanter*	

Early English Gothic

1189		Richard I.
1194	*Henry le Marshall* Enlargement of Choir	
1199		John
1214	*Simon of Apulia* Towers thrown into Church	
1215		Magna Carta
1216		Henry III.
1217		Hubert de Burgh, Regent
1223	*William Bruere* Chapter House, Misereres, etc.	
1245	*Richard Blondy*	
1257	*Walter de Bronescombe* Began transformation of Eastern Chapels	
1258		Simon de Montfort The Provisions of Oxford
1265		Battle of Evesham Death of Simon de Montfort
1272		Edward I.

Decorated Gothic

1280	*Peter Quivil* Planned complete transformation Transformed Eastern Chapels and Transepts	

DATE	BISHOPS AND BUILDING DATES	KINGS AND CURRENT EVENTS
:282		Conquest of Wales
:291		Scottish Succession
1292	*Thomas de Bytton*	
	Transformed Choir	
1295		Organisation of National Parliament
1296		First Conquest of Scotland
1304		Second Conquest of Scotland
1307	*Walter de Stapeldon*	EDWARD II.
	Completion of Choir	
	Glazing of Windows	
	The Great Altar, Sedilia, Pulpitum and Bishop's Throne	
1314	Extension of Cloisters	Bannockburn
1323		Independence of Scotland assured
1325	Commencement of transformation of Nave	
1326	*James de Berkeley*	Murder of de Stapeldon
		Deposition of Edward II.
1327	*John, Baron de Grandisson*	EDWARD III.
	"No church in England or France shall be Exeter's peer"	
1336		Beginning of "Hundred Years' War" with France
1342	Completion of Cathedral as a building	
1349		THE BLACK DEATH
1353	The Minstrels' Gallery	
	PERPENDICULAR GOTHIC	
1370	*Thomas de Brantyngham*	
	Completion of Western Screen	
1377	Completion of Cloisters	RICHARD II.
1381		The Peasants' Revolt
1394	*Edmund de Stafford*	HENRY IV.
1399		

DATE	BISHOPS AND BUILDING DATES	KINGS AND CURRENT EVENTS
1413		HENRY V.
1419	*John of Catterick*	
1420	*Edmund de Lacey* Decoration of Cloisters	
1422		HENRY VI.
1429		Jeanne d'Arc in France
1431		Murder of Jeanne d'Arc
1453	Chapter House rebuilt	English driven from France
1455	*George Neville* Sack of Cathedral Completion of Chapter House	Wars of the Roses
1461		EDWARD IV.
1465	*John Bothe*	Supremacy of Warwick "The Kingmaker"
1471		Death of Warwick and Henry VI.
1478	*Peter de Courtenay*	
1480	Courtenay hangs Bell "Great Peter"	
1483		EDWARD V.
		RICHARD III.
1485		Bosworth Field
		HENRY VII.
1487	*Richard Fox*	
1492	*Oliver King*	Columbus reaches West Indies
1496	*Richard Redman*	Cornish Revolt
1497	(Third Siege of Exeter)	Perkin Warbeck captured
1501		Katharine of Aragon at Exeter
1502	*John Arundell*	
1503	*Hugh Oldham*	
1509	Oldham and Speke Chantries	HENRY VIII.
1519	*John Veysey* (Harman)	
1520		Luther burns Papal Bull
1531		King head of the English Church
1536		English Bible issued Dissolution of Lesser Monasteries

DATE	BISHOPS AND BUILDING DATES	KINGS AND CURRENT EVENTS
1539		Dissolution of Greater Monasteries
1547		EDWARD VI.
1549	(Fourth Siege of Exeter)	Anti-Protestant Revolt o West
1551	*Miles Coverdale* Cathedral defaced	
1553		MARY I.
1555	*James Turberville*	
1556		Martyrdom of Cranmer, etc
1558		Loss of Calais
		ELIZABETH
1560	*William Alleyn* Bishop de Grandisson's Tomb destroyed	
1563		Thirty-nine Articles
1568		Mary of Scotland flees t England
1570	*William Bradbridge* Debt and Decay of Cathedral	Papal "Deposition" o Elizabeth
1575		Holland rebels against Spai
1577		Drake sails to Spanish America
1579	*John Wotton*	
1580		Jesuit Mission to England
1585		English Army in Holland
		Drake's Expedition t West Indies
1587		Death of Mary Stuart
		Drake at Cadiz
1588		THE SPANISH ARMADA
1589		Drake storms Corunna
1593		Shakespeare's *Venus an Adonis*
1595	*Gervase Babbington*	
1596		English storm Cadiz
1598	*William Cotton*	
1603		Conquest of Ireland
		JAMES I.
1604		Peace with Spain
1605		Gunpowder Plot

DATE	BISHOPS AND BUILDING DATES	KINGS AND CURRENT EVENTS
1610		Plantation of Ulster
1616		Death of Shakespeare
1618		Thirty Years' War
1620		Pilgrim Fathers in Massachusetts
1621	*Valentine Carey*	
1625		CHARLES I.
1627	*Joseph Hall*	
1628		The Petition of Right
1633		Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury
1639		Revolt of Scotland
1640		The Long Parliament
1642	*Ralph Brownrigg*	GREAT CIVIL WAR
1644		Destruction of Parliament's Army at Lostwithiel
1646	(Fifth Siege of Exeter) Destruction of Cloisters	
1649		Execution of Charles I.
		THE COMMONWEALTH
1653		OLIVER CROMWELL (Protector)
1655		Penruddock's Rebellion
1658		RICHARD CROMWELL (Protector)
1660	*John Gauden*	CHARLES II.
1662	*Seth Ward* Restores Cathedral	Puritan Clergy deprived
1665		GREAT PLAGUE
1666		BURNING OF LONDON
1667	*Anthony Sparrow*	Milton's *Paradise Lost*
1670		Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* Subserviency to France
1676	*Thomas Lamplugh*	
1677		William of Orange marries Princess Mary
1678		Popish "Plot"
1682		Charles supreme
1685		JAMES II.
1688		THE REVOLUTION

DATE	BISHOPS AND BUILDING DATES	KINGS AND CURRENT EVENTS
1689	*Sir Jonathan Trelawney*	WILLIAM III.
		MARY II.
1691		Conquest of Ireland
1697		Peace with France
1702		ANNE
1707	*Offspring Blackhall*	Union of Great Britain
1702–10		Victories of Marlborough
1714		GEORGE I.
1715		"The Fifteen"
1717	*Lancelot Blackburne*	
1721		Walpole Prime Minister
1724	*Stephen Weston*	
1727		GEORGE II.
1738		The Methodists
1742	*Nicholas Claggett*	
1745		"The Forty-Five"
1747	*George Lavington*	
1751–7		Clive in India
1756–62		Seven Years' War
		The Elder Pitt
1760		GEORGE III.
1762	*Frederick Keppel*	
1763–8		Brindley, Wedgwood, Hargreaves and Arkwright
		Beginning of Industrial Revolution
		REVOLT OF AMERICA
1775		France joins America
1778	*John Ross*	Spain joins France
1779		Holland joins Allies
1780		England saved by victories of Rodney
1782		Reforms of Pitt the Younger
1782–92		FRENCH REVOLUTION
1792	*William Butler*	NAPOLEON BONAPARTE
1796	*Henry Reginald Courtenay*	Peace with France
1802		France declares War
1803	*John Fisher*	TRAFALGAR & AUSTERLITZ
1805		Napoleon dominant in Europe
1807	*George Pelham*	

DATE	BISHOPS AND BUILDING DATES	KINGS AND CURRENT EVENTS
1808		SPAIN RISES AGAINST NAPOLEON
1808–14		PENINSULAR WAR
1812		NAPOLEON'S RUSSIAN CATASTROPHE
1813		OVERTHROW OF NAPOLEON
1815		WATERLOO
1820	*William Carey*	GEORGE IV.
1829		Catholic Emancipation
1830	*Christopher Bethell*	Spread of Railways
		WILLIAM IV.
1831	*Henry Philpotts*	
1832		FIRST REFORM ACT
1833		Abolition of Colonial Slavery
1837		VICTORIA
1842		Income Tax
1845–9		Conquest of Punjab
1854–5		Crimean War
1857		Indian Mutiny
1866		Prussia defeats Austria
1867		Second Reform Act
1869	*Frederick Temple*	
1870	Restoration of the Cathedral	Education Act
1871		Germany defeats France
1875	Restoration complete	England buys shares of Suez Canal
1876		Elementary Education Act
1885	*Edward Henry Bickersteth*	Third Reform Act
1898		Recovery of London
1901	*Herbert Edward Ryle*	EDWARD VII.
1903	*Archibald Robertson*	
1910		GEORGE V.
1914		Great European War
1916	*Lord William Gascoigne Cecil*	
1918		End of European War

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